Augsburg College Library
3 0510 00604 7973

378.42
M3X7

AUGSBURG COLLEGE & SEMINARY
George Sverdrup Library
MINNEAPOLIS 4, MINNESOTA

THE OLDER UNIVERSITIES OF ENGLAND

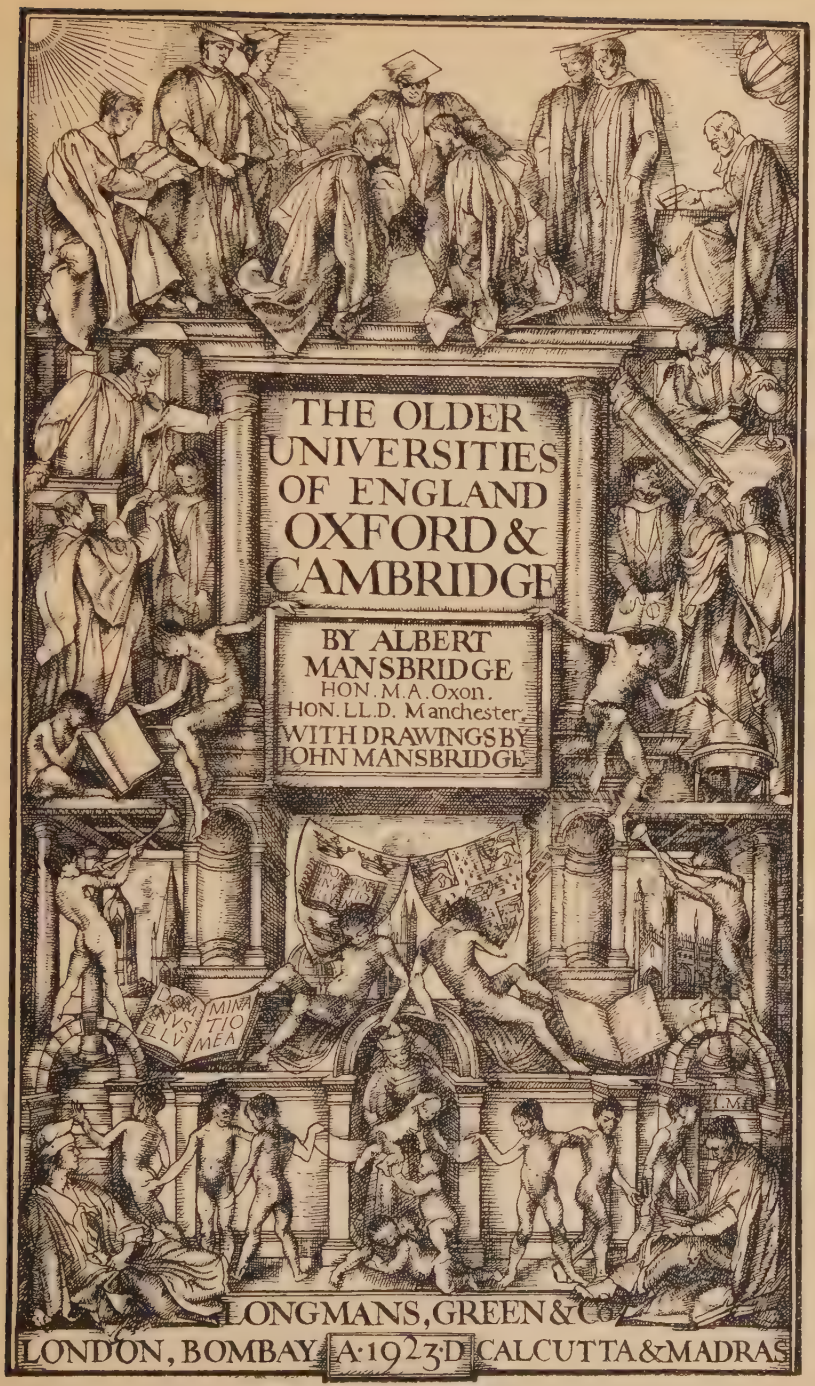
BASED UPON A COURSE OF LECTURES
DELIVERED ON THE LOWELL FOUNDATION,
BOSTON, U.S.A., MARCH 1922

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

An Adventure in Working-Class Education

Being the Story of the Workers' Educational Association, 1903-1915. With 13 Illustrations. 8vo. 6s. net.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
LONDON, NEW YORK, TORONTO, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA AND MADRAS.


THE OLDER
UNIVERSITIES
OF ENGLAND
OXFORD &
CAMBRIDGE
BY ALBERT
MANSBRIDGE
HON. M.A. Oxon.
HON. LL.D. Manchester.
WITH DRAWINGS BY
JOHN MANSBRIDGE
LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.
LONDON, BOMBAY, A·1923·D CALCUTTA & MADRAS

Made in Great Britain

LA
636
M3

TO

MY COLLEAGUES

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE UNIVERSITIES OF

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE

1919–1922

Based upon a Course of Lectures delivered on the Foundation of the Lowell Institute, Boston, U.S.A., March 1922.

MAR 18 '63

51880

'There are also in this Islande two famous Universities, the one Oxforde, the other Cambridge, both for the profession of all sciences, for Divinitie, phisicke, Lawe and all kinds of learning, excelling all the Universities in Christendom.

'I was myselfe in either of them and like them both so well that I meane not in the way of controversie to preferre any for the better in Englande, but both for the best in the World, saving this that Colledges in Oxenford are much more stately for the building, and Cambridge much more sumptuous for the houses in the towne, but the learning neyther lyeth in the free stones of the one, nor the fine streates of the other, for out of them both do dayly proceede men of great wisedome, to rule in the common wealth, of learning to instruct the common people, of all singular kinde of professions to do good to all. And let this suffice not to enquire which of them is the superiour, but that neyther of them have their equall, neither to aske which of them is the most auncient, but whether any other bee so famous.'

Lyly's *Euphues*, Part II. (1580).

PREFATORY NOTE

MANY books have been written on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, or on individual Colleges within those Universities, but almost without exception such books have been the work of men who have studied in one or other of them and have had 'academic qualifications.' Perhaps, therefore, there is not only room but need for a book written by one, such as myself, who approaches the Universities from without, desirous of extending their learning and influence much more than at present to the many working men and women who possess an interest in, and a capacity for, scholarship and advanced thought.

In order that this desire might be achieved as far as possible and as soon as possible, it became necessary without delay to study the history, constitution, mind, and spirit of both Oxford and Cambridge, and with this study grew the hope of seeing them rise steadily in power as they face more and more completely the obligations and duties implicit in their admitted ideals.

Such a study proved to be both compelling and alluring. And the interest of it has been stimulated by the welcome accorded in recent years by the two Universities to working men and women from all parts of England. These, indeed, have begun to feel themselves to be a corporate body, upon the right ordering of which the health and strength of the Universities in part depends.

It has been as though the ancient foundations, often accused of slumbering in the shade of a mighty tradition, were ready to adapt themselves to the needs of a new time and only awaited the impetus from without. They

have begun to draw to themselves the mind and spirit evolved by the right exercise of manual labour—often the least esteemed, but certainly not the least valuable expression of ordinary life—in order that they may fulfil more completely their own purpose, and develop in the whole community, through the discipline of learning and the inspiration of wisdom, a free and independent mind consecrated to the service of truth and the welfare of mankind.

Though the welcome given by the Universities to their new students has not been equally obvious in all parts of the corporate body, it has always been accorded heartily and unmistakably by individual Colleges or by some group of Masters or Doctors. Many members of the Universities and Colleges in the early years of this century were deeply conscious of the need for a reformed academic life, and it was because of this, and not merely because of financial needs, that the Royal Commission appointed in December 1919 was so generally welcomed, and its report, issued in March 1922, so well received. This report may well prove to be the herald of a new period in University life. The experience gained in participating in its preparation, added to that previously obtained in organising educational facilities based on the joint action of Universities, Trade Unions, and Co-operative Societies, made it possible for me to deliver a course of eight Lowell Lectures on the Older English Universities at Boston, Massachusetts, in March 1922.

The interest manifested in the lectures was so great and widespread that I consented to prepare them for publication or to utilise them as the basis of a more detailed consideration of the history, life, and manners of the two Universities.

In this I have been helped by many friends, including some of my colleagues on the Royal Commission of 1919-1922, with whom it was an inexpressible privilege to serve. I owe special debts of gratitude to Mr. G. M. Trevelyan (Trinity College, Cambridge),

Mr. C. L. Stocks (Wadham College, Oxford), Miss A. E. Levett (St. Hilda's Hall, Oxford), and Mrs. Beaumont (Newnham College, Cambridge) for their generous criticisms, additions, and suggestions.

It only remains for me to say that the whole work was completed before the Bill authorising Statutory Commissions on Oxford and Cambridge was introduced into the House of Lords, and, consequently, before I was nominated to serve as a Commissioner under the Act, charged to assist in the revision of the Statutes of Oxford University.

ALBERT MANSBRIDGE.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
	Prefatory Note	vii
	List of Illustrations	xii
	The Plan of the Book	xiii
I.	Master and Scholar in Mediaeval England	1
II.	Monastery and Friary	15
III.	Hall and College	26
IV.	Schoolmen, Humanists and Protestants	39
V.	Cavalier and Roundhead	57
VI.	Cambridge of the 'Whigs,' Oxford of the 'Tories'	84
VII.	Sizars, Servitors and 'Smarts'	107
VIII.	Methodists, Evangelicals and Tractarians	123
IX.	A Century of Development and Reform	146
X.	Adaptation to a Democratic Age	172
XI.	The Royal Commission and the Twentieth Century	196
XII.	Statesmen and Scientists	217
XIII.	Oxford and Cambridge in the World	241
XIV.	Of All and Sundry	257
XV.	The Power that is in Them	270
	Index	287

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

From Drawings by John Mansbridge

FACING PAGE

The Title Page

The Bridge of Trinity College, Cambridge . . . 34

The Sheldonian Theatre and the Old Ashmolean from the Divinity Schools, Oxford 74

A Part of Cambridge 102

Queens' College from the River Cam 136

A Part of Oxford 166

Under the Library, Trinity College, Cambridge . . 192

The Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge . 222

A Washington Memorial in the Church of St. Mary the Less, Cambridge 246

THE PLAN OF THE BOOK

The glory of the older English Universities is their spirit and atmosphere, the outcome of devotion to an ideal of learning which is expressed, and in part realised, by the Masters and Scholars, and has been persistently nourished and strengthened through eight hundred years of chance and change, even in the years when devotion seemed to fail, and luxury, accompanied by lethargy, to increase.

Any approach to an understanding of Oxford and Cambridge must necessarily be historical ; but, even so, the way may be made more plain if, before setting out, some consideration is given to the nature and place of a University in the English community.

A University must be independent and uncontrolled in its inner life, and in the exercise of its peculiar activity. Everything in the community may, and should, conspire to assist it materially ; but its own inherent power should lift it above any other institution, so far as the affairs and adventures of the mind are concerned. In the work of accumulating and disseminating knowledge it must be so instant as to be the recognised centre of all the schools, and it must accomplish this task in so balanced a way as to allow no area of human understanding to be unoccupied. Always it must occupy the farthest bounds of knowledge, even as it strives continually to extend them. If the University is to do these things, it must draw to itself the finest physical, mental, and spiritual power in the world, but particularly it must redeem for learning the men and women who are endowed with the gifts of scholarship and advanced thought.

The University is one of three symbolical institutions

of the City which have been developed by Christian civilisation. They represent, roughly, the threefold nature of man: the Cathedral the spirit, the University the mind, and the Town Hall the body. The right working of each of these institutions, or their equivalents, is necessary to the right working of each of the others.

When the Cathedral has failed to inspire men to live at their highest—which means the using of their own peculiar gifts, regardless of reward or selfish intention—or when the Town Hall has allowed economic barriers to block the way of the scholar, then the University has suffered, and the stream of those fitted to serve God in Church and State has failed, and at times almost ceased to flow.

More than any other institution, the University depends upon the full recognition of the law of diversity of gifts, and upon the complete operation of the principle of equality of opportunity, with its corollary, never forgotten without disaster, that men must be willing to sacrifice themselves for the work which is demanded of them. Oxford and Cambridge have been saved again and again by those who, at least for an appreciable portion of their lives, turned a deaf ear to the siren voices of artificial wealth and transitory power. They sprang into being in the hearts and minds of men who cared for nothing else save scholarship as the supremely absorbing activity of their being. That were a bold saying, since no man can trace the details of the origins of either University, but it must none the less be true, for it is revealed plainly in the records.

The Christian religion had given birth to the schools of its faith in many abbeys and cathedrals before the School of Paris became, under their combined influence, 'the first School of the Church' and assumed the functions of a *Studium Generale*, in the form of a University controlled by Masters, as the licensed teachers were called. The study of Roman Law had meanwhile drawn many older men to Bologna, where they created a University controlled by the Scholars. Although it was the

custom of the mediaeval student, using the Latin tongue, to set out where he would, lured by the voice of a great teacher, yet not all the rapidly rising band in England could go to Paris, and so some of them gathered at Oxford, at Cambridge, and elsewhere, to such an extent as to offer opportunity for teaching, not only to individual Masters returned from Paris, but even to a settlement of them. In this way Oxford and Cambridge became Universities in the latter half of the twelfth century, and assumed a form and constitution not unlike that of Paris and probably modelled directly upon it. In the early thirteenth century both Oxford and Cambridge were strong enough to secure special legal privileges, and to enter upon a long period of mingled co-operation and rivalry with one another and with the towns they occupied and almost seized.

The disputes in the twelfth century between Henry II and the Pope, followed by the French wars, made it desirable that England should depend, to a much greater extent than before, upon her own schools, and so the English scholars at Paris were either tempted or compelled to come home. In this way Oxford rose rapidly to become the rival of Paris, and to a large extent overshadowed Cambridge until the days of the Reformation in the sixteenth century were well run. Both places throve lustily, in spite of poverty, riot, and migration. They received in due course all the recognition they desired from King and Pope, and determined early in the fourteenth century to allow no rivals in England.

The friars settled in the Universities early in the thirteenth century and devoted themselves to scholarship with such consummate ability that Oxford became a little later the first school of mathematics in Europe. In spite of their intellectual achievements, or perhaps in part because of them, the friars excited much enmity. They found recruits easily—and perhaps too easily—among the young boys who, probably encouraged by the Church, were taking their first steps towards scholarship with a view of ultimately becoming parish priests. It

was partly to neutralise their influence, and partly to assist the education of ' seculars ' [1] destined to be parish priests, that Walter de Merton at Oxford and Hugh de Balsham at Cambridge constructed the earliest of those Colleges which gradually superseded the monastic foundations, friaries, and halls, and grew to be the sole seats of University authority. As the Colleges exist to-day, they are almost entirely due to the outburst of activity arising out of the intellectual revival of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and culminating in William of Wykeham's Oxford foundation of the new ' College of St. Mary of Winchester in Oxford ' to receive Scholars from the school he had previously established (1370). In 1441 Henry VI, with scant regard to the University of Cambridge, modelled King's College, in its relation to his school at Eton, somewhat after the manner of New College in relation to Winchester—an entity in itself ; rather, indeed, a little piece of Windsor set for convenience in Cambridge. The Renaissance, the constructive minds of Bishop Fox, Cardinal Wolsey, the Lady Margaret, together with the diversion of monastic revenues, are responsible for the foundations of the early sixteenth century, whilst the Marian reaction can claim Trinity (1554–5) and St. John's (1555) at Oxford. The Puritans of the reign of Elizabeth influenced the foundation of Emmanuel (1584) and Sidney Sussex (1596) at Cambridge, and of Jesus (1571) at Oxford. Each succeeding movement in religious thought sought to secure its own permanence by establishing Colleges for the training of its clergy. From that time until 1800 no College was founded at Cambridge, when after much difficulty the terms of the will of Sir George Downing took effect, whilst Oxford can only point to the new foundation of Wadham in 1612. Pembroke (1624) and Worcester (1714) were merely

[1] ' Regulars ' as opposed to ' Seculars ' lived under the Rule of an Order, and were such as monks, friars, or Canons Regular. All University students in the thirteenth century were in a kind of minor Orders.

the reconstructed Halls of Broadgates and Gloucester respectively.

Before the days of the Renaissance, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Schoolmen disputed much among themselves. 'Scotist,' after Duns Scotus, and 'Thomist,' after Thomas Aquinas, prevented life at Oxford from becoming unduly monotonous, but the first great movement which originated in an English University was due to the independent teaching of John Wyclif. Oxford for a little while became the home of a new cause, but Church and State combined to force it back into the old ways. Its submission, and the disavowal of Wyclif, mark the beginning of a long period of subordination to external authority. Henceforth, until almost our own day, Oxford could only be free in unsuspected ways. Meanwhile Cambridge, all through this time and, indeed, right up to the Reformation, was outside the main rush of English life. It was largely because its roots had not struck so deep that it embraced the New Learning more readily than Oxford, which pioneered it. Although Erasmus first studied (from the spring or summer of 1498 till January 1500) at the College of St. Mary the Virgin in Oxford, where he was inspired by Colet and his friends, yet it was left to Cambridge to give him full opportunity to teach Greek, even if it failed to remunerate him. The Oxford Schoolmen refused to yield to the claims of the new studies, but the influence of Colet and Sir Thomas More, strengthened by the power of Wolsey, caused Henry VIII to put an end to their obstinate resistance. Henceforward Oxford becomes the very home and nursery of the classics.

Into the midst of the changing scene in both places there burst the consequences of the King's matrimonial inclinations. In so high and kingly a matter he desired the approval and advocacy of both his Universities, which as a result were destined to enter, with the nation at large, into a period of constant crisis and change. Just before the Reformation, Wolsey, always a patron of learning, had discovered with the help of Bishop Fox how to

divert revenues from religious houses to new collegiate foundations. In the light of this he conceived and planned Colleges at Oxford and Ipswich on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. But he was too much a man (and his loyalties were too deeply rooted) to be able to adapt his course without hesitation to that of Henry, who would endanger his kingdom rather than imperil his royal will. Wolsey's hesitation led to his undoing. Whilst Ipswich became a memory, Cardinal College was cut off in its beginnings, later to become, although a great foundation, but a pale shadow of what Wolsey had dreamed and, indeed, planned.

> . . . in bestowing,
> He was most princely, ever witness for him
> Those twins of learning that he rais'd in you,
> Ipswich and Oxford ! one of which fell with him,
> Unwilling to outlive the good that did it ;
> The other, though unfinish'd, yet so famous,
> So excellent in art, and still so rising,
> That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.[1]

Even as it happened, the Cardinal may lay claim to a notable place in the succession of the great College founders, for Henry VIII not only merged Cardinal College into Christ Church (1532), but in the strength of the same inspiration transformed King's Hall (1337) and Michaelhouse (1324) into Trinity College at Cambridge (1546), the most extensive of existing College foundations. In doing this he made no plan to isolate it from the ordinary life and government of the University, to which, for its compliant wisdom, he was well disposed.

The dissolution of the religious houses was the immediate cause of the drying up of the main stream of scholars, and the Universities would have fared ill had not the Colleges possessed endowments to support Fellows and Scholars, and had there not commenced to come into existence a new order of country gentlemen who took to sending their sons to the Universities. It

[1] *Henry VIII*, Act IV, Sc. 2.

is, indeed, from the country house that the post-Reformation undergraduate, as a rule, made his way into life, though it must be remembered that the grammar schools, which were founded as the monasteries were suppressed, were enabled to carry on the tradition of sending poor scholars to Oxford and Cambridge by means of the 'close' scholarships, which were almost entirely abolished in the middle of the nineteenth century. For the rest, many a young gentleman needed a servant, not merely to prink him out for the dissipations of a College day, but also to perform for him such academic exercise as circumstances would allow, with the result that Sizars at Cambridge and Servitors at Oxford became free of the scholarship of the place, and ultimately Masters in the Schools.

The fierce interplay of the Reformation, and its consequences in evictions and even burnings, made University life exciting for all and dangerous for many. After the quiet reign of Edward VI, Mary worked her will with resolute purpose. The Reformation Masters found exile in Europe until the early days of Elizabeth. Many of them came back, especially to Cambridge, dominated by the teaching of John Calvin, and stamped Cambridge, except for St. John's College, with the Puritan tradition.

Oxford moved, in all these matters, much more easily with the times. Both Universities received new Statutes from Elizabeth, the chief tendencies of which were to place all power in the hands of the Colleges as opposed to the whole body of Masters. Indeed, no other real power found opportunity for expression until 1850. The 'Council of the Heads' [1] at Oxford and 'Caput' [2]

[1] The Hebdomadal Board consisted of the Vice-Chancellor, the twenty-three other Heads of houses, and the two Proctors; and, under old Statutes, had the sole initiative power in University legislation and the chief share in its administration. All new measures had to be drawn up by them before submission to Convocation.

[2] The Caput Senatus consisted of the Vice-Chancellor and five others, viz.: a Doctor in each of the three Faculties, one Non-Regent M.A., and one Regent M.A. Supplicants for Degrees and General Graces were first submitted to the Caput, each member of which could reject by his sole vote.

at Cambridge alternately waked and dozed, for better or for worse, through nearly 300 years. Oxford, however, suffered vigorous overhauling at the hands of Archbishop Laud. He gave it new Statutes, and, whilst there was yet time, began to turn his attention to Cambridge, which desired none of him, even as it was making alterations in fear of him. Events thickened round this capable, 'thorough' reformer. The whole realm of England became involved in civil war, and both Universities were immersed in politics and the consequences thereof. Cambridge was in the occupation of the 'Roundheads' and Oxford became the centre of Royalist activity. Scholarship was at a discount, even though it was the day of Milton and Wren. Students were few, and they perforce burrowed into the very nooks and crannies of the Colleges. In the days of the Commonwealth, as is admitted even by Clarendon, the Royalist historian of the Rebellion, the serious administration of the Puritans was greatly to the advantage of learning. This period gave the impetus to the movement in thought which produced such men as John Locke at Christ Church and Isaac Newton at Trinity, and helped some, at least, to stand clear of the flood of Restoration lightness in manners and in thought which overwhelmed the Colleges.

Thus through the whole period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the form of the Universities remained unchanged. The numbers [1] of undergraduates rose and fell sympathetically with national happenings, but, as a rule, all the Colleges contained within their walls both the poor scholar and the son of the great house. The endowments were sufficient when added to the

[1] Numbers of undergraduates:

Year.	*Oxford.*	*Cambridge.*
1577	777	717
1775	759	396
1800	741	387
1850	1227	1323
1900	2517	2796
(Oct.) 1922	3580 (men) 700 (women)	4300 (men)

emoluments of Church pluralities—in the accumulation of which the College don had amazing skill—to enable the business of scholarship and learning to be carried on in a setting of political intrigue and religious prejudice, with no shortage of lawsuits to develop skill still further and to inflame disputes.

The Restoration (1660) moved swiftly on its way to the Revolution (1688). James II might have kept the allegiance of Oxford, but his flouting of the Fellows of Magdalen in his attempt to force them to accept as their President Anthony Farmer, a Roman Catholic recusant, cooled the ardour of Oxford for a time. Indeed, the University was able, as a result, to do little else than bubble ceaselessly in favour of the Pretender for years afterwards. In the early days of the new dynasty it contented itself with little more than an occasional riot in support of its unconstitutional tendencies. Neither William nor Mary, nor even Anne, cared to visit Oxford overmuch, but Cambridge was quite correct in its behaviour and welcomed Anne in a manner worthy of Elizabethan days. On one visit she knighted Newton, and Bentley received her at Trinity in his best manner, as a welcome interlude in the series of his incessant disputes which make up the history of Trinity entirely, and of the University partly, for forty years.

There is much material in existence which reveals the Universities at this time, and it is possible without difficulty to construct pictures of the life in both of them. They were alike in spirit. To live comfortably, to merit the attentions of the great, to gain a reputation for wit, and to be able to repel all who would impinge upon his rights may be said to be the characteristic desires of the average don of that day. Their Disputation Acts and Commencements, as well as their ceremonies, were strangely alike. They differed only in name. The *Terrae Filius*, or official 'Merry Andrew,' of Oxford made much the same display of scandal as his brother the *Tripos Jester* of Cambridge, and were both suppressed at times not far distant from one another. They lived their

own lives, these college worthies, in contemptuous indifference to the life of the world outside, or even of the Fellows in the other Colleges of the University. Unfortunately for their reputations, it became the habit of minor officials of the University to make books of recollections, and the ingenuous and sometimes admiring manner in which they are written gives to them the hall-mark of veracity. The Gunning[1] of Cambridge is rivalled by the Cox[2] of Oxford.

The Industrial Revolution helped to break up the contented and selfish satisfaction which was characteristic of both national and collegiate life in the eighteenth century. Cambridge, it is true, with a prevision altogether to its credit, had established the Mathematical Tripos in 1747, and, through the spirited action of a group of Junior Fellows at Trinity, before the century closed had adopted an attitude towards the election of Fellows much more in harmony not only with the ideals of the place but with the ordinary precepts of common sense and honesty. Oxford, much more the home of 'bucks,' 'bloods,' and 'smarts,' took a longer time, in spite of the Wesleys and Whitefields, to adapt itself to new demands, but in 1800 it adopted the famous Examination Statutes, and henceforth proceeded on a new and notable way. The energy of College Heads such as Cyril Jackson of Christ Church and Copleston of Oriel made it possible for scholars to feel not only the responsibility but the glory of their calling.

The new times were early marked at Oxford by the rise of the famous Fellows of Oriel, who with Dr. Pusey of Christ Church sought, in response to the religious revival sweeping across Europe, to lift the Church to a level of authority and practice undreamed of since the Reformation. Those who differed from them in matters

[1] *Reminiscences of the University, Town, and County of Cambridge, from the Year* 1780. By Henry Gunning, M.A. (1768–1854), Christ's College; Esquire Bedell, 1789; Senior Esquire Bedell, 1827–1854.

[2] *Recollections of Oxford*, 1789–1869. G. V. Cox, M.A. (1786–1875), New College; Esquire Bedell and Coroner in the University of Oxford.

of Church order were equally prominent and no whit less determined. They included among them such men as Thomas Arnold of Rugby (1795–1842), Dean Stanley of Westminster (1815–1881), and Benjamin Jowett of Balliol (1817–1893). The controversies between them had the direct effect of creating a wide interest in Oxford life and thought and, not least, in the proposals for reform. At Cambridge the movement towards reform was not directly connected with religious controversy, but with the efforts of such men as William Whewell (1794–1866), Adam Sedgwick (1785–1873), and Henry Sidgwick (1838–1900), and, indeed, arose directly out of the implications of the Mathematical Tripos established in 1747. There are those who would deplore the theological discussions and contests of the first part of the nineteenth century, but at least they awoke the Universities as perhaps nothing else could then have done. Fierce disciplined power was brought to bear on these controversies. Devotion to ideals and fine scholarship were thereby inspired to action, and in the latter part of the century these bore fruit in useful reform.

In 1850 came the first of the Royal Commissions, opposed with bitter hatred by many in Oxford, and notably by the College Heads, whose power was threatened. Reform from within had pointed the way to greater reforms to be achieved from without. Gradually (for further Commissions were needed) the Universities were freed from many binding disabilities, and ultimately they ceased to be close institutions of the Church of England and became open in almost every respect to men of all creeds and countries.

The open mind of both Universities made it possible for educational enterprise to establish institutions differing in type from the old Colleges. New foundations were once more created and dedicated to specific religious and social purposes, some recognised by the Universities, some quite outside them. Even the Roman Catholics have re-established Halls at Oxford, and the Dominicans returned in 1921, seven hundred years after their first arrival. Women also asserted their claims to participate

in full University privileges, and at Oxford they are 'Masters' in Convocation, but at Cambridge they still await the inevitable end.

The development of classical and cognate studies at Oxford is the chief characteristic of the place, less altered in appearance by the construction of laboratories and museums than Cambridge, which is a world-centre of scientific thought and investigation.

Just as the rise of a new order of the people in England gave force in the nineteenth century to the demand for the disused armoury of the years to be cast aside, so in the twentieth the greater interest displayed by the people, and for the first time by the industrial classes, caused the appointment of yet another Royal Commission. The apparent forces working for the demand were the need for the development of new facilities, especially in the region of scientific research, felt strongly in a time of falling money values, and the tardy admission that financial aid was not only necessary but due from the State; but the real force was the determination of a democratic people to see that the Universities missed none of their right work by undue exclusiveness or by the misuse of revenue. When due allowance is made for the fallibility of human nature, which is to be detected even in Universities, the report of the Commission reads as a justification of the work of both Oxford and Cambridge; nevertheless, it points the way to great and far-reaching reforms.

The full development of both Universities can only be secured if the whole order of their teachers and administrators realises the spirit of the Commissioners and turns its attention to making the most of every potential scholar who comes into residence, allowing no waste whatever of the resources which are at the disposal of the Universities and Colleges. If this spirit prevails, intensified as it will be by common aims and aspirations, it will prove magnetic to the whole body of the living sons of the Universities, and Oxford and Cambridge will rise to take that place in the affairs of men which is not only justified but logically necessitated by the nature of their foundations and the ideals at which they both aim.

THE OLDER UNIVERSITIES OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

MASTER AND SCHOLAR IN MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND

In the older English Universities of to-day, the Scholar is a student who by reason of his special qualifications has been admitted to a seat on the foundation of a College. The ordinary undergraduate, whether Exhibitioner, Pensioner, or Commoner,[1] has no place, as such, in the College proper. He is, as it were, a paying guest in the society. There were, however, no Colleges in Oxford or Cambridge during the first hundred years of existence of the Universities, so that the Scholar may be regarded, until 1264, simply as one not yet admitted to full rights of teaching and government in what was then known as a *Studium Generale*,[2] and later as a University.

The first recorded use of the term 'Master' in England is to be found in 1092, when Theobald of Etampes designated himself *Magister Oxenfordia*. This, however, was probably an unauthorised use of the word, for Oxford did not assume the functions and constitution of a *Studium* until the latter half of the twelfth century. Since

[1] An Exhibitioner receives definite grants in aid of his education. A Pensioner is an ordinary undergraduate paying his own way in a Cambridge College. A Commoner is the Oxford equivalent.

[2] A *Studium Generale* had a number of Masters and taught not only the Trivium (Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric) and Quadrivium (Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music), but one or more of the higher studies of Law, Medicine, or Theology.

that time at least 'Master' has had only one connotation (except in the few cases in which it is used loosely to indicate the 'Head' of a College Society). Roughly speaking, the Master is one who has completed his seven years' apprenticeship in the schools, having passed through three years' probation as an undergraduate and four years as a Bachelor. Up to the time of Elizabeth he was the body, mind, and spirit of University administration and government. After that he became, in his own right, merely the body. He had full title to teach, and teach he perforce did, during the first century of the Universities and for long afterwards. In addition there was the Doctor, a Master who had proceeded to a higher degree in one of the three faculties of Law, Medicine, or Theology; but the crowd of Scholars clustering round their Masters in the opening days make up a simple and sufficient picture for our purpose. At the end of the twelfth century they could be seen, certainly at Oxford, and most probably at Cambridge, begging, studying, rioting, revelling, all of them in minor Orders, or wearing the cappa, of all ages from ten upwards, enjoying the protection of the Church and to some extent at least of the King, as their societies gradually assumed the chief power in the towns they had occupied.

Cambridge, situated at the junction of two important Roman roads, had long been a port of entry from the Continent. Small sea-going ships came right up to its wharves even before it had become a fortified town in A.D. 912 under Edward the Elder, King of the Angles and Saxons. The nearest abbeys were at Crowland and Ely, and this absence of an ecclesiastical foundation in Cambridge itself makes the investigation of the origin of its schools more than usually baffling.

Oxford, on the other hand, was situated on a tongue of land at the junction of two main streams in the chief river highway of the country. Originally it was a British fort, almost without recorded history, until St. Frideswide founded there, in or about the year 700, the church on the site of which now stands the Cathedral.

In 1111, after many vicissitudes, it became a priory of the Augustinian Canons. The beginning of Oxford as a seat of learning probably lies in the Priory School, or at the school held within its precincts, which was fortunate in attracting great teachers at or just before a time when migrating scholars were seeking a new home.

The mediaeval scholar was largely the deliberate creation of the mediaeval Church in the days of her awakening ; he did not merely follow in her train. An impetus towards scholarship was set in motion by every healthy ecclesiastical foundation. Worship demanded a pure and clear expression of the spirit of man in the terms of mind, set in knowledge. Thus out of the Dark Ages there burst into a warring world the greatest conqueror of all, the quick-witted, well-informed, far-seeing man of peace, who chose the pen as the mighty instrument of his purpose, and under the protection of the Church drove it in the power of the spirit. Yet pen and dagger were not infrequently set in the same girdle, both ready to leap out to meet the changing need even under the very shadow of the Church. Certainly the typical mediaeval scholar was adept in the use of both ; though he had many sides to his character and perhaps his quarrelsome nature has received undue attention. 'Wherever Clerks are met together,' said Roger Bacon, 'as happens at Paris and at Oxford, they shock the whole world with their feuds, their contentions or their vices.' The quiet, peaceful men, the mystics, such as St. Edmund Rich[1] (1170 ?–1240), who pressed unceasingly towards the innermost of the faith, gave little opportunity to the rhymester, who preferred the clash of arms to the quiet strivings of a scholar's day, or even to the more ordinary miracles in which the lives of the saints were set. Be this as it may, the records are full of the riots, feuds, and migrations of those who,

[1] St. Edmund Rich studied theology at Paris and became a teacher of divinity at Oxford, where he was noted for his kindness toward his pupils and his disregard of all material considerations. He was the author of *Speculum Ecclesiae*, and other works. Among his public activities were the preaching of a Crusade and the defence of the National Party against Henry III.

growing with astonishing rapidity into corporate bodies, created the Universities of the Middle Ages.

> The evil that men do lives after them,
> The good is oft interred with their bones.

An old French monk, looking shrewdly and perhaps cynically at a changing world, remarks, 'In Paris they (the students) seek liberal arts, in Orleans authors, at Salerno gallipots, at Toledo demons, and in no place decent manners.' In so doing he calls up the picture of roving bands of scholars, seeking the satisfaction of their desires, good or bad, in the rapidly rising schools of Europe. It was easy for them to move. They spoke one language, the Latin of their Church, and Rome had thrust her missions everywhere.

Moreover, every church of importance or size had its group of quiet home-loving musicians, singers, illuminators, translators, and recorders. They trained the youths in their schools, and these ever and anon would break away, or would be sent to imbibe knowledge at the feet of some great teacher, charged to return laden with new learning to serve as the very fuel of wisdom.

Such scholars as these had little to lose. Their capital was their quick-witted brains. Always there was the Church to feed and to shelter them, and poverty was not so much a vice as a virtue. They need not be idealised unduly. In their time they were probably regarded with tolerant contempt by the man of action, who trusted to have opportunity in his last moments to avail himself of such priestly power as they wielded. Many of them must have been clever weaklings, and the majority of them probably had no dreams of learning pursued through long and weary days of self-sacrifice. They merely wanted to get command of Latin, and to develop clerkly accomplishments, or to understand and interpret law and medicine. There is no reason to believe that the forces which gave birth to scholarship, the pursuit of truth and the development of worship,

troubled them overmuch, even though they were illumined by the fire of the Twelfth Century Renaissance.

In the early days of the twelfth century the Schools of Paris, influenced by the teaching of Abelard, the most famous lecturer of his time (1079–1142), grew to such proportions as to necessitate a new type of organisation. This organisation became in effect a Guild of Masters, owing to the need for many additional teachers to keep pace with the inrush of scholars. Gradually it developed a power all its own, symbolised by the appointment of a Rector as distinguished from the Chancellor (or officer of the Bishop), who exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the whole society. As a *Studium Generale*, it sought from the Pope and the Emperor the direct authority of Church and State. Meanwhile the Masters formed the basis of government.

Among the concourse at Paris were many scholars from England. Indeed, they gave their name to one of the four 'Nations,' into which the *Studium Generale* was divided. As yet Paris was the only place to which the English scholar, worthy of the name, could turn, unless he wished to study law at Bologna. If he were poor he found access to Paris by way of the Church. If he were rich and not disposed to arms, his father for conscience' sake might send him to Paris in default of some other protégé. In any case, if he were accomplished at all, he could earn his way when he could not beg it. Moreover, there was a great communal movement all over Europe, which expressed itself not only in the rise of scholastic philosophy but in the Crusades—thus the growth of Paris was not due entirely to its own inherent excellence. Some schools had to grow to meet the new demands of the age. If the theologians and philosophers turned to Paris, the lawyers turned to Bologna, where they created a great *Studium* and, as scholars of mature years, governed it themselves.

Paris and Bologna thus became the archetypes of the scholastic foundations of the Middle Ages, which, in the fifteenth century, arrogated to themselves the designation

of *Universitas*, originally applied by mediaeval writers to any concourse of 'faithful Christian people.'

It requires little effort of the imagination to see Masters returning to the towns and abbeys of their own lands, and setting up in their own right. In such a way early in the twelfth century Theobald of Etampes lectured on the sacred texts to classes of from sixty to one hundred students gathered together under the auspices of the Augustinian Canons of St. Frideswide. Robert Pullus of Exeter, who had both studied and taught at Paris, followed him in 1133, leaving 'no stone unturned to make the British youth flourish in the sacred tongues.' On week-days he taught, on Sundays he preached.[1] In 1149 Vacarius arrived from Bologna. He lectured on Justinian, adding the study of Roman law to that of the sacred texts. These appear to be the only allusions to schools at Oxford before the movement took place which developed Oxford from a mere school of the abbey into a *Studium Generale*.[2] This change arose directly out of the feud of Angevin and Capet, for not only were the English scholars of Paris expelled in 1167 but no more were allowed to leave England. Any considerable number of them returning from Paris would most surely seek to reproduce the organisation of the French *Studium* in whatever part of England they found themselves. For most of them this happened to be Oxford. Possibly some of them went to Cambridge; it was a natural means of entry to England. There also a little later a *Studium* was set up, for in 1209 it was able to receive and hold a mighty exodus from Oxford. For the rest, Cambridge was in these times always a little behind Oxford, whether in the securing of special legal privileges from the State (Oxford 1214, Cambridge 1231), or in recognition as a *Studium Generale* by the Pope (Oxford 1296, Cambridge 1318), or in the development of Colleges (Oxford 1264, Cambridge 1284). Indeed, right up to the time

[1] Some of his sermons are preserved in MS. at Lambeth.

[2] Like Padua (1222) it was established by custom and not by a Papal Bull.

of the Reformation the attitude of Oxford to Cambridge was 'God speed you behind us.'

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was the not uncommon practice of writers to attempt the production of 'records' setting forth in meticulous detail the exact origins of both Universities. Fortunately, or unfortunately, they were as a rule so precise as to give opportunity of confutation to such later critics as thought them worth serious consideration. Many of these 'records' were so absurd as to suggest that they were simply a display of inventive wit, but others, such as a spurious continuation to Ingulph,[1] probably of fifteenth century origin, have been made to pass current right up to our own time. It is recorded therein that Jeoffred of Orleans, Abbot of Crowland, 'having regard for his manor of Cotenham,' sent four of his fellow students and monks, led by Giselbert, to initiate the Cambridge schools. They 'hired a public barn,' made open profession of their sciences, and in a short space of time drew together a great company of scholars 'far too big for any church or barn.' Thomas Fuller, meditating on these things in 1655, quaintly likens them to a little fountain which grew to be a great river. 'We see,' he bursts out, 'how the City of God now is come to be enriched.' It was shrewd of the inventor to put his scholars in a barn, for there are no twelfth century University buildings to be discovered in Cambridge.

Of all those who took part in what Maitland calls 'the earliest of all inter-University sports,' a lying match, none could possibly have been more provocative than one William Masters, a Public Orator, who, anxious to impress Elizabeth at Cambridge, told her that 'All Histories with one voice testify that the Oxford University borrowed from Cambridge its most learned men, who in its Schools provided the earliest cradle of the

[1] Ingulph, Abbot of Crowland from 1075–1109, compiled the history of his abbey up to his own times. There were various continuations and amplifications of this chronicle up to the end of the fifteenth century.

ingenuae artes and that Paris and Cologne were derived from our University.' But if provocation had its home in Cambridge, Oxford clings more persistently to her legendary creations. Alfred the Great is still not without witness in University College or in the official Calendar [1] or in the Ashmolean Museum.

The first clear contemporary view to be gained of Oxford is due to the enlightened publicity methods of Giraldus Cambrensis (1146?–1220?). This energetic prelate having finished and revised his great work 'Topographia Hibernica,' and being desirous 'not to hide his candle under a bushel, but rather to place it in a candlestick so that it might give light,' resolved to read the book in 1187 before a 'vast audience at Oxford.' He entertained 'Doctors of the diverse faculties and the most distinguished scholars.' Clearly the *Studium* was a vigorous entity, and Giraldus at least was certain that it was the centre of the intellectual life of the time, or he would have displayed his light elsewhere.

The actual number of scholars at Oxford at that time was probably less than 3000, but the mediaeval statistician seems to have regarded numbers as mere symbols which he used without too strict regard to the difference between thousands and tens of thousands. In any case 30,000 is stated as a credible number. Richard of Devizes speaks in 1192 of the Clerks at Oxford being so numerous that the city could hardly feed them. 'They turned a borough into the semblance of a lodging house.' It was hard upon the city which had just achieved its independence [2] to find that it was housing a rival to its own power, and that rival not only successful but necessary to its very existence. There would be but a pale shadow of a town if the scholars deserted it.

The opening of the thirteenth century found 'Town' and 'Gown' at war in Oxford. King John, smarting under the interdict, supported the former as representing

[1] 'The College is said to have been founded in the year 872 by Alfred the Great.'—*Oxford University Calendar*, 1922–3.

[2] The City of Oxford was granted a charter in 1161 by Henry II.

the laity ; consequently the whole University dispersed to Reading and Cambridge and elsewhere.[1] It remained in exile four years until 'Town' was 'utterly discomfited,' both legally and practically, and 'Gown' received in 1214 its direct legal status confirmed by the Papal Legate.

In those days the University was merely a society. It was not fast bound to a place ; neither buildings nor associations had it in their keeping. It could move, and often did, wholly or in part, just as though it were a nomadic tribe. As for its individual scholars, if they wanted to go to Paris, or Bologna, or Padua, go they did. In spite of prohibitions, the finest English scholars sought for many years to go to Paris as a post-graduate school, and few of the great pre-Reformation teachers had failed to study on the Continent.

A rhymester of the time tells us that

> Gentlemen's sons while young they be
> Are sent to France to get a degree.[2]

The regular going to and fro was not really broken until the French wars of Edward III (1327–1377), when Angevin and Capet were fairly at grips. Thus, as often afterwards, war interrupted the beneficial interchange and friendship which naturally grew up between men in different countries who were devoted to the pursuit of scholarship.

In 1229 Henry III had made an effort to induce the whole University of Paris to come to England. As the result of a riot and dispute the majority of the Masters certainly left Paris. Let Henry speak for himself.

> The King to the Masters and Scholars of the University of Paris, greeting.
>
> Humbly compassionating the tribulation and not small griefs by which you are oppressed under an evil law at Paris, We desire

[1] Matthew Prior states that 3000 clerks went to Cambridge in 1209.

[2] 'Filii nobilium dum sunt juniores,
Mittentur in Franciam fieri doctores.'

(The English is that of Professor York Powell.)

for the reverence of God and of Holy Church, piously assisting, to lead you back to due liberty. For which reason We give your University to understand that if you will you may migrate to our Kingdom of England and stay there to study, and that We will assign to you whatever cities, boros and towns you may choose, and in liberty and tranquility we will do all such things becoming to give you pleasure as shall suffice you and be pleasing to God.

Witness Ourselves at Reading,
July 16th, 1229.

It is worthy of note that Henry did not tempt the Parisian Masters to Oxford or to Cambridge. There was probably no room for a large body of French students in either place, and those who did come were not sufficient to form a *Studium* of their own.

It is clear from a letter to the townsmen in 1231 [1] that Henry III regarded scholars as the desired of Kings. He took special steps to secure their status in Cambridge, giving the students power, under royal letters patent, to punish offenders, to root out false scholars, and to restrict the exorbitant demands of the townspeople. Thus both centres of learning secured a firm and legalised footing. The Scholars and Masters had henceforth little to fear

[1] 'It is well known to you that a multitude of scholars flow together to our City of Cambridge for the sake of study from various places at home and abroad; which We hold right pleasing and acceptable for that from thence no small profit comes to our kingdom, and honour to Ourself; and above all you, amongst whom the students have their daily life, should rejoice and be glad. But We have heard that in letting your lodgings you are so heavy and burdensome to the scholars dwelling amongst you, that unless you behave yourselves more measurably and modestly towards them in this matter of your exactions they must leave our city, and having abandoned the University, depart from our land, which We in no respect desire. And therefore We command you firmly enjoining you that, concerning the letting of aforesaid lodgings, and keeping yourselves in measure according to the custom of the University, you shall estimate the aforesaid lodgings by two masters and two good legal men of your town, and according to their estimate should permit them to be hired, thus bearing yourselves in this matter ye may be held safe, for if that any complaint should arrive to Us We should put our hand to the matter.

'Witness the King at Oxford the third day of May 1231.'

from the towns in which they dwelt, on terms of active warfare or armed peace.

These events have brought our picture of the Scholars and Masters well beyond the time of the first arrival of the friars (1221), who so profoundly affected the life and studies of both places that they must receive separate treatment. But first it will be helpful to take one more glance at the twelfth-century Master and Scholar and at the constitution of the society they created.

See them then, in the two chosen towns, surging through the streets, crowding the houses of the citizens, studying in the porches, living indeed wherever they could gain shelter. All of them are clad in the ecclesiastical cappa—a long garment fastened down the front—and thereby clearly distinguishable from the rabble of the town, students of all ages from ten upwards, scheming, shivering, starving, yet making their way to power. 'The wealthy merchant who passed the group of shivering students huddled round a teacher as poor as themselves in porch or doorway, or dropped his alms into the cap of the mendicant scholar, could hardly discern that beneath rags and poverty lay a power greater than the power of kings.'[1] If any rash outsider touched one of them he touched all. On the least provocation they poured out of their lodgings to fight against Pope, King, or Mayor, or whoever interfered with their fancied or real rights. In 1237 the Oxford Clerks with bows and arrows drove Otho the Papal Legate from the city because his brother, acting as his cook, threw a dish of broth at one of their number. He 'took scalding liquor out of a caldron wherein some fat meat had been newly boiled and thrust it in his face.' Of course they were excommunicated, but they minded that little when they were all involved. Moreover, it all ended in a kind of penitential comedy at St. Paul's in London. Life was rough, but it was full of zest and there was fellowship. No one felt the bitterness of poverty when all were poor, and a noble

[1] John Richard Green, *Studies in Oxford History chiefly in the Eighteenth Century*.

ideal was before them. St. Richard of Chichester was doubtless of the elect, but his life at Oxford in its hardship must have been typical of many. He was the son of well-to-do parents, but he preferred his studies to an advantageous marriage which had been arranged for him. So he left all and

betook himself to the University of Oxford and then to that of Paris, where he learned logic. Such was his love of learning, that he cared little or nothing for food or raiment. For, as he was wont to relate, he and two companions who lodged in the same chamber had only their tunics, and one gown between them, and each of them a miserable pallet. When one, therefore, went out with the gown to hear a lecture, the others sat in their room, and so they went forth alternately ; and bread with a little wine and pottage sufficed for their food. For their poverty never suffered them to eat flesh or fish, save on Sundays or on some solemn holy day or in presence of companions and friends ; yet he hath oftentimes told me how, in all his days, he had never after led so pleasant and delectable a life.[1]

The monasteries sought, quite early, to keep their own scholars, known as ' monks ' or ' regulars,' under subjection in the disciplined cells of their Order. They were not ungenerous to the ' seculars ' and must have fed many of them in times of difficulty. These, however, often came together in ' Halls ' either on their own initiative or on that of the Master responsible for them. Every scholar, in a limited time after his arrival, had to find a Master, who would be responsible for him and certify to the Chancellor that he had performed his proper work. There was no entrance examination or formal matriculation. Residence was continuous and work was only suspended on ' Holy days.' In times of migration and war [2] it must have been difficult to determine the equivalent of a year of residence, but doubtless a great deal depended on the Disputations entered into by the Scholar

[1] John Capgrave's Life of the Saint in *Acta Sanctorum Bolland* (ed. 1675).

[2] Simon de Montfort was assisted against Henry III by a body of Oxford students, under their banner, at Northampton in 1264.

and upon the judgment of the Master. After all, they were very rough-and-tumble Guilds of Knowledge, and few who were without parts became Masters.

The course of study was long but clearly defined. At the outset it was concerned with the Trivium of Grammar (including the Latin poets), Logic, and Rhetoric. Then followed the Quadrivium of Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music. It has been fancifully suggested that these two divisions mark the difference between Oxford and Cambridge, but whatever the case may have been later it was certainly not so in the early years. At the end of three years, the Trivium surmounted, the Scholar became a 'Bachelor,' which gave him in effect a restricted license to teach. He was usually entrusted with the exposition of the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard, regarded as the philosophical Bible of the Middle Ages. After four years more, with the Quadrivium behind him, he became a Master. As such he was compelled to teach and to sit in the house of the Regent Masters.

If he were by nature either ambitious or a scholar he as a rule 'proceeded Doctor,' and it was to keep this type of student in the University that some of the earlier foundations were devised. It is not easy to discover the length of the period of residence then required for Doctors, but at one time it was stated to be twelve years (after the seven years of the Arts Course) for Theology and six years for Law and Medicine.[1] Probably very few took the full double course or spent the ideally prescribed number of years in doing so. Theory and practice in the Middle Ages did not always square.

At the base of both Universities, then, are the Scholars, enrolled by a Master and divided into two Nations,

[1] These courses naturally varied at different periods, although, strangely enough, it takes three years for B.A. and seven years for M.A. to this day. At one period the M.A. presided over a school for a year as Regent, then would enter a higher faculty, for Theology ten years, for Canon or Civil Law eight, and for Medicine five reading years and two practising.

It is elsewhere stated that five years was sufficient for Theology, with two years of probation—i.e., seven years exclusive of the Arts course.

North (including Scottish) and South (including Welsh, Irish, and European).[1] Their sole share in government was the right to elect a 'Proctor' to represent them. As they became 'Regent,' i.e., teaching Masters, they entered the 'lesser' or 'black'[2] Congregation. The 'non-Regent' Masters formed a Congregation of their own, but all met in the Great Congregation. Roughly speaking, the executive consisted of the Chancellor, elected by the Masters, originally for two years—possessing almost sovereign rights—and Proctors, whilst the power of initiative lay with the 'black,' and the final word with the Great Congregation.

It was thus that the first of the friars found them in 1221, hastening to their ceremonies at the ringing of the Chancellor's bell, Masters as well as Scholars rushing out at intervals to defend their rights when the bells of the University answered the bells of the Town.

[1] At Oxford the two Nations became one in 1274. Before that there was constant war between them.

[2] The hood of the Regent Masters was black.

CHAPTER II

MONASTERY AND FRIARY

Before the days of the Reformation the chief institutions which afforded refuge, support, and inspiration to students, both young and old, and which, in addition, made provision for teachers, were the monasteries or priories of the Augustinian Canons and the Benedictines, the friaries of the Dominicans and Franciscans, and the Colleges of the Seculars. Of these only the last have survived to our own time. They were strengthened by a portion, if only a comparatively small portion, of the property of the monasteries and friaries when these were dissolved or destroyed in the sixteenth century, in the interests of the reformed religion and of the treasury of Henry VIII. There is, as we have seen, too little evidence to justify the confident assertion that the religious orders originated University life in England, but that they were concerned in it from the beginning is almost certain, and that they sought to dominate it until they were destroyed or swept from the country by the Reformation is well proven.

The main stream of the twelfth and thirteenth century academic life was, however, in the main secular. It was an expression of the rising passion for learning tried and tested by free and uncontrolled discussion, a discussion surprising both in its boldness and in the breadth of its range. Though the Church had provided the earliest opportunities, and still flung the garment of her protection over the gowned and tonsured students, yet she could not control the outbursts of their thought or the method of their lives. The word ' secular ' did not thus mean free of the Church—no one was ultimately that—

but at any rate the student was not under the discipline or control of the religious Orders. He might as easily become a layman as a cleric, but usually he intended to work as a parish priest unless he had special qualifications or opportunities for the practice of law or medicine.

The distinction between 'regular' and 'secular' cuts deeply into the life of the pre-Reformation Universities. It may not have expressed itself so rapidly or so frequently in quarrellings and riots as the divisions of 'North' and 'South,' but it largely determined the sway of learning and of rule until that great Secular John Wyclif crept as a 'hunted hare' into his 'form' at Lutterworth in 1381, banished by the influence of the Regulars allied to that of the State. Two centuries later the latter power in its turn not merely banished but destroyed the English expression of the religious Orders.

In the early days 'regular' influence was exercised mainly by the Augustinian Canons who occupied at Oxford the Priory of St. Frideswide [1] and the Abbey of Osney [2]; at Cambridge the Priory of Barnwell [3] and the Hospital of St. John.[4]

The Benedictines sent students to Oxford as far back as 1175, but they built no houses of importance before Walter de Merton had exemplified the idea of a College in 1264, after which they created at Oxford the Halls of Gloucester (1283) and Durham (1280) for the monks of their Abbeys in the western and northern cities. Rewley Abbey or College was founded hard by Osney for the Cistercian Monks of Thame during the same period (1280).[5]

But all the achievements and influence of the monks paled before those of the eager, impetuous friars, who, having secured the charters of their Order from the Pope, lost no time in establishing themselves in both Oxford

[1] Where Christ Church now stands.
[2] Completely destroyed.
[3] Completely destroyed.
[4] Where St. John's College now stands.
[5] Worcester College now occupies the site of Gloucester Hall and Trinity College of Durham Hall. Rewley Abbey was destroyed entirely at the Reformation.

and Cambridge. They represented the direct influence of the Church upon the world, whereas the monks were concerned mainly with worship and pure living within their own Order. There was often little unity of action between monk and friar. The former resented the latter's attempt to cut into his sphere of influence which, as both mendicant and missionary, authorised by the same Pope, he could easily do. Moreover, as time went on, the splendid buildings of the friary challenged those of the monastery. Soon after the first friars reached Cambridge in 1221 they established seven houses in or near the city. Oxford, however, was their real aim. It was then only second to Paris as a University town, and was the intellectual centre of a country which bid fair, even in those days, to affect profoundly the course of European politics.

The Dominicans, or Black Friars, were the first to reach Oxford in 1221.[1] They occupied a site in 'Jewry'

[1] There is now in Oxford, next the Pusey House in St. Giles, an almost completed Priory. Over the main doorway is this inscription :

> Hunc conventum alterum novum eadem die
> Qua priscus fundatus est A.D. MCCXXI.
> Frēs praedicatores longum pt. exilium reduces
> Posuerunt XVIII Kal. Sept. MCMXXI.'

(This second new convent was founded on the same day as the first, in A.D. 1221, by the Preaching Brothers, returned after long exile, August 15, 1921.)

The Christian World (a Free Church publication) on August 18, 1921, commented as follows :

' The return of the Dominicans to Oxford has been one of the events. On August 15, 1221, they originally arrived here—a little band of foreign monks—who came to Oxford after taking counsel with the Archbishop, Stephen Lanfranc, and here they founded the first Dominican house in England. This survived until the days of Henry VIII. Now they have returned with their minds set upon the conversion of England. They have secured a very fine site in the centre of St. Giles, and the Cardinal Archbishop, Dr. Bourne, laid the foundation-stone of their Priory and Church on Monday, the 700th Anniversary of their first arrival. Crowds of clergy, regular and secular, added to the dramatic setting, and the hope was freely expressed that eventually no fewer than one hundred monks would come into residence. Meanwhile, the Prior announces that they commence without any funds, that the site

where the Town Hall now stands. 'At their entrance they applied themselves to the grandees of the University and at length to the Canons of St. Frideswide's, those of Oseney, and to the chief burgesses of the town.' They had hardly settled in when the Franciscans, or Grey Friars, having first presented themselves to the King, sought their hospitality until such time as they were able to hire a house within the walls. The Carmelites, or White Friars, settled at Aylesford in 1238, from which place they sent students to Oxford, ultimately buying a house for them there in, or about, 1258. It was in a year of pestilence (1252) that the Austin Friars, famous in disputation, arrived and took a house near the schools.[1]

The arrivals of the friars at Cambridge were probably more or less contemporary with the Oxford arrivals, but the great teachers of their Orders arose in Oxford, and consequently Cambridge worked on for awhile unnoticed, while Oxford scholarship dominated the English scene. The Dominicans lectured on Theology in the 'fair and stately' Church of St. Nicholas, and had 'librairy, schoole, and cloisters; and fishponds' set on a 'pleasant isle in the South Suburbs.'[2]

The Dominicans were intellectual from the beginning. Their founder, Dominic de Guzman (1170–1221), determined to spread abroad by means of itinerant and mendicant preachers that knowledge of doctrinal orthodoxy which hitherto had been confined to great cities or

has been given by a lady, and that their trust is in Providence. The Dominicans intend to create a Catholic theological faculty here, and, using entirely constitutional methods, eventually to secure footing for their leading teachers with the Oxford University Faculty of Theology, following the example, as the Prior explained on Monday, of Mansfield and Manchester College. As a matter of fact, a Franciscan monk has been lecturing this year under the Faculty of Theology.'

[1] The Trinitarian, or Red Friars, and the Crutched, or Cross-bearing Friars, also settled at a later time in Oxford, but achieved no great importance.

[2] Varying accounts exist of the buildings of the Franciscans, but since, as A. G. Little points out, the stouter members of the Order disapproved of fine buildings, it is probable that they were not of architectural significance.

monasteries. The Order also set out deliberately to redeem and inspire through the Catholic faith the whole area of intellectual philosophy. Aristotle was to be made to serve the purposes of Holy Church.

The Twelfth Century Renaissance was characterised by such free speculation on the theories of Aristotle that the Church, seeing the independence and energy of the Universities, feared a rival to her power and teaching in the *Studium* which she fostered. When Simon of Tournai, a Paris Master, had astounded his hearers by his able defence of the orthodox faith, he stated that he could demolish it with equal ease and thoroughness. Moreover, the study of Aristotle in a Latin translation from a Jewish or Arabic version led the eager inquirer far from the path of orthodoxy on to the materialistic pantheism of Averroes and similar heresies. Early in the thirteenth century, Amalric of Bena was the leader of a determined and outspoken band of pantheists at Paris. Popular heresies, like that of the Albigenses, derived new vigour from the impetus thus given, while the production of new translations direct from the Greek only added fuel to the fire. Indeed, so great was the fear of University influence that in 1215 the Papal Legate forbade Paris Masters to study Aristotle's physics and metaphysics 'until they have been examined and purged from all heresy.' The Dominicans offered another solution in their unyielding effort to reconcile the teaching of Aristotle with the doctrines of Holy Church.

Their great teachers were Albertus Magnus, 'the Universal Doctor' (1193–1280), and his brilliant pupil Thomas Aquinas, 'the Angelic Doctor' (1225–1274), in whom scholastic theology reached its height. His 'Summa Theologiae,' 'the most complete accommodation of Aristotelian doctrine with Catholic orthodoxy,' rendered him the authoritative exponent of scholastic philosophy and has influenced all subsequent teaching within the Church. Not that the Dominicans in Paris and Oxford accepted Thomist theories without demur. John of St. Giles, an Oxford teacher, inveighed against

those who ' even in theology will not be separated from Aristotle, putting tinsel in the place of gold,' while in 1278 Kilwardby in Oxford and the Dominicans in Paris both condemned the followers of Aristotle. Kilwardby, who was recognised universally as a ' great master of Theology,' was for ten years Prior of the Dominicans in England. He was then made Archbishop of Canterbury and thus became the first friar to hold an exalted position in the English Church. When ' pompous and fussy ' John of Peckham succeeded him in the archiepiscopal chair, the Franciscans, who were never converted from the earlier Platonic views to those of Thomist theology, found an active defender. The treatise of Richard Claypole, Regent Master of the Oxford school of the Dominicans, was called by the Archbishop ' a damned page and a cursed folio ' and, as such, was condemned in Council. The rising school of thought, however, would not be crushed. Appeal was made to Rome, and ultimately, by devotion to the teaching of Thomas and Albertus, the Oxford Dominicans, none of them notably great in their own persons, maintained their long fight—only ended by the Renaissance—with the Oxford Franciscans; gained authority in the Schools, and were made by Boniface VIII Censors of all books emanating from the University. Yet it must not be thought that their triumph resulted in apathy. For years the Order in Oxford showed extraordinary intellectual vitality, and indeed was never without some sign of independent teaching, for there alone was the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception maintained.

The Franciscans at the outset were pledged exclusively to the service of the pure motions of the spirit of man. In the person of their great founder, Francis Bernadone of Assisi (1182–1226), they repudiated all material things and all intellectual conceptions as obstacles on the way of heavenly life. ' Doctors will be the destruction of my vineyard,' burst out St. Francis himself, in lament, at Paris, over the scholarship of a brother of the Order.

But the simple rule of their 'angelic and childlike founder' soon ceased to be the sole guiding principle of the Order in the Universities. If only they had been contented to allow scholarship to wing its way to truth and had not sought to confine it within the limits of their own narrow conceptions, it might not have been so. Even after the change St. Francis' principles remained as a source of great strength in the days when worldliness and intellectual development had caused them to be rejected as a literal and all-sufficing code of conduct.

The friars were always to be reckoned with. Nothing indeed could stop the mental growth of such Franciscans as Adam Marsh, 'the illustrious Doctor' (d. 1257 ?), John Duns Scotus, 'the subtle Doctor' (1271–1308), or William Ockham, 'the invincible Doctor' (1289–1347). They provided in themselves a succession sufficient to establish the fame of any University at any period of history.

But it was to Robert Grosseteste (1175–1253) that the Franciscans owed the first intellectual successes of their Order. He entered their service immediately after their first arrival in Oxford. Already he was known 'as the finest scholar of his time.' Later he was to achieve fame 'as the Master spirit of his age.' Of humble birth, he grew to be Bishop of Lincoln and, as such, a resolute and defiant champion of liberty and rights, in the face of both King and Pope. He never lost his love of scholarship and of Oxford. Among the Schoolmen of his time he was renowned for his knowledge of Greek philosophy, and in him the University found a proud protector. He always had rights over it, since Oxford was in his own diocese.

Roger Bacon (1214–1294) may possibly have been one of the young friars who sat at the feet of Grosseteste. He was born about 1214, and might easily have been in Oxford when Grosseteste commenced his lectures in 1224. In spite of the hindrances which were placed in his way when it was realised that the adventures of

his mind were passing into realms undreamed of by the Superiors of the Order, he accomplished in due course the great work in Natural Philosophy which made him master in the field until the time of his great namesake Francis Bacon (1561–1626), three centuries after.

The love of nature which was characteristic of the Franciscan Order led its members directly to the study of natural science, while the obligation of personal service to the poor and sick naturally induced them to make serious efforts in sanitary reform and medical research. Thus Oxford and many other mediaeval towns owed their first aqueducts to the friars, and no modern experimentalist has shown greater courage than friar Roger Bacon, who never hesitated in being the first to take the new medicines he concocted. It may well be said that had Bacon instead of Aquinas become the predominant philosopher in the English Universities, much of the contention between science and theology would have been avoided. All Franciscan students, however, were greatly hindered in pursuing their studies to any advanced stage by the mechanical rule of poverty. Poverty brought them face to face with the actual problems of the day, but if they needed books or other means of work they were told to get them as they might—and were then in danger of being subjected to penance for getting them the wrong way. Not that the Order was without books ; Grosseteste and Adam Marsh both left books to the Oxford Franciscans and some of them are in the Bodleian to-day, and Popes forced the Order to modify its rule of absolute poverty. When Bacon himself complained that there was no one in Paris to write his book, he meant, according to A. G. Little, that there were no professional scribes in the Order there.

In spite of all this, the attitude adopted by the Franciscans was not favourable to the development of their studies when they reached an advanced stage. Roger Bacon was denied the use of pen, ink and parchment. For ten years he was confined in Paris (1257–1267). Had it not been that Pope Clement IV used his

power to override the Order,[1] the finest works of this majestic mind would probably never have seen the light of day ; they would have been obscured or destroyed by that prejudiced ignorance which is, not infrequently, the characteristic of small-minded men who have achieved a modicum of knowledge.

As we have seen, the Franciscans were challenged in their intellectual supremacy by the Dominicans, who asserted the interpretation given to Aristotle by Thomas Aquinas.[2] The chief opponents of the ' Thomists,' as they were called, were the ' Scotists,' or followers of John Duns Scotus.[3] They filled the University with arguments unceasing until William Ockham, a devoted pupil of Scotus, turned on his master and abandoned the attempt to reconcile philosophy and theology. In later days the fame of Duns Scotus became unenviable. His adherents became the first of the ' Dunces,' but that was when there was war between the last of the Schoolmen and the all-conquering ' Greeks.' Let it be remembered, however, that the best English teachers of the time were the Scotists beloved of the Franciscans.

Such was the influence of the friars in both Universities almost immediately after their arrival that efforts were made to check not only their increasing indifference to the customs and prescribed courses of the Universities, but also an alarming tendency to secure

[1] On June 22, 1266, Pope Clement IV demanded a copy of his writings ' in a fair hand with all possible expedition . . . and as secretly as possible. . . . notwithstanding any contrary command of your Superior or other constitution of your Order.' In his lengthy answer to the Pope, Bacon writes, ' In truth before I became a Friar, I composed no philosophical book, nor since I came into this Order have I ever been asked to do so by those who are set in authority over me. Nay, a grievous constitution hath ever been made to the contrary, under pain of loss of our book, and of several days fasting on bread and water, if any writing in a friary be communicated to others.'

[2] Thomas Aquinas sought to effect a harmony of faith by positing reason and revelation as two independent sources of knowledge, each sufficient in its own plan of action.

[3] John Duns Scotus maintained that there was no true knowledge of anything noble apart from revelation.

actual control. Neither University had the least objection to their giving exclusive consideration to theology, but if they wished to become Masters in the Schools, then they, like others, must proceed through the prescribed Arts Course, and could not, as theologians, be exempted. Powerful though the Orders were, that was no reason why the members should have University privileges denied to others. Moreover, the friary formed a useful centre for the development not merely of an organised system of lectures, disputations and study but of a corporate spirit and policy. The Orders excited much ill-feeling, because they were alleged to be active in seeking out young and unprotected boys to whom the prospect of shelter, food and books in the friary must have been alluring, especially if revealed by an experienced friar at the moment when the young student was perhaps a little over-anxious concerning his future. Once in the friary, it was 'ill work,' said rumour, 'to get clear of it.' Many, it was said, were made proselytes 'before they could well distinguish between a cap and a cowl' and were presented for degrees before they were 'masters of themselves.' However this may have been, the members of the Orders certainly 'occupied the chairs of the teachers, aspired to the control of the system,' and by the end of the fourteenth century had 'by their papal principles impaired academical freedom.'

Narrowing and threatening as the influence of the Orders may have been when their inherent vigour was exercised in maintaining an exclusive corporate ambition, some appreciation of this, the first of great University movements, must be made, for the friars carried the Universities with them in the van of intellectual and social advance and spread their influence through the whole of the country-side. Their missionary zeal necessitated the study of languages to teach those who did not speak the Latin of the educated classes. Their boundless activity made them explorers beyond the confines of Christendom. The scientific researches to which at least some of them were addicted were not

without purpose at a time when Kings needed the gunpowder of a Roger Bacon to destroy the power of the armoured knight in his feudal castle ; when nobles were making an increased demand for luxuries and novelties ; when the cleavage between scientific research into concrete phenomena and the study of the supernatural was dimly, if at all, apprehended. Nor did the friar neglect the religious and social forces at work in the hidden strata of society. The increasing employment of the sermon as a means of popular education—a foreshadowing of the Reformation triumph of the sermon over the Mass—could not have been without its influence upon the Universities. The charge that the friars were guilty of fostering the social discontent which culminated in the Peasants' Revolt (1381) is not without significance.

In some respects the coming of the friars had been a clear call to the Universities to go beyond the ' academic ' life and studies of the Masters and the requirements of the organised Church to those which would serve the needs, physical, intellectual and spiritual, of the layman. The answer to such a call would have meant the adoption of a definite stand in social and religious matters. Great as was the work accomplished, the Universities failed to respond adequately. A splendid and alluring prospect was opened up before them, but, beset as they were by those who perceived, however dimly, the power that was in them, they had not sufficient strength or devotion to maintain an undeviating course. As is so often the case with pioneers, the friars themselves, by the tendencies we have observed, obstructed the path they had helped to reveal. Hall and College rose at least partly in opposition to them, but the Universities never wholly recovered the unfettered exercise of their own true functions without religious check until the nineteenth century had almost run its course.

CHAPTER III

HALL AND COLLEGE

The earliest institution created by the Seculars was probably the Hall. It was natural for a group of students to hire a house which they might use in common, and to elect a Principal, who, having regard to the constitution of the University, would preferably be a Master, and it was even more natural for a Master to invite his students to live with him. In course of time the Universities extended their supervision to the Halls and recognised the Principals. At a later stage important Halls were founded by royal or ecclesiastical personages. Many of these have vanished, but some of them were merged into Colleges, which, in their essential nature, are simply endowed Halls administered in accordance with Statutes and consecrated, for ever, to scholarship and learning.

The College as such was not established on a permanent basis until 1264, when Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, commenced to devise Statutes for his society, probably without being quite certain whether its home would ultimately be at Malden, at Oxford, or at Cambridge. But, at that time, Malden was merely a religious foundation, whilst Cambridge was but a pale shadow of Oxford. The Halls and Colleges served the Seculars as the monastery and friary served the Regulars, although, as has been seen, both types of institution were adapted by the Benedictines to their own purposes. Many years were to elapse before the Colleges became the sole wielders of power in Universities which retained merely formal functions. Right up to the Reformation, there was conflict between Monastery,

Friary, Hall and College, while the unattached students had to fend for themselves, with the hand of every established Principal against them. So there came a day when there was no nook or cranny, apart from a College, into which they might creep. This was not yet the case in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, though in 1432 a Statute [1] was enacted which makes it quite plain that the Principals of Halls were gaining power in Oxford.

Throughout these centuries the students were of all ages, boys as well as men. Many of them were actually beneficed parochial clergy. They were as a rule poor, although as years went on young men, in easy circumstances,[2] came to regard Oxford and Cambridge as

[1] 'Item. Seeing that the peace of this kindly (almae) University is seen to be frequently broken by divers persons who, under pretence of being scholars, wait and lurk within the University and its precincts, but outside the Halls and under tutelage of no Principal—men known by the abominable name of "Chamberdeacons," who sleep all day and by night haunt the taverns and brothels for occasions of robbery and manslaughter—therefore it is decreed by the said University that all and every scholar do dwell in that Hall or College wherein his common contributions are registered, or in Halls thereunto annexed, which share with the aforesaid in commons, or battels, under pain of imprisonment for the first offence. If, moreover, having been once admonished by the Chancellor or his Commissary, or by the Proctors, they neglect to transfer themselves to those abodes aforesaid, then let them be banished and cut off from the University, as rotten members thereof, within eight days.'

[2] It may be interesting here to include an account of the expenses of an obviously well-to-do student in 1373. It is a guardian's account for his ward's property.

'Also—for the board of the said Thomas, during the said 13 years; two shillings per week being paid by the same Robert while he was at the Schools at Oxford, for his board there, and the same throughout the same time, making 104 shillings yearly, and in the whole £67 12s.

'Also—for the clothes, linen and woollen, and shoes of the same Thomas for the said 13 years at 40 shillings yearly, expended by the said Robert—£26.

'Also—for the teaching of the same Thomas for ten years out of the said thirteen, at 2 marks yearly by the same Robert paid, making 20 marks.

'Also—for sundry expenses, namely his riding at Oxford and elsewhere, and for moneys laid out upon a master for the said

exciting centres in which to display their prowess and perhaps to pass away a few years.

Local authority had now settled firmly into the hands of the Masters, although the students could still exercise their right to migrate, and plainly did not regard themselves as under rule. Early in the fourteenth century the students in Oxford secured the election of a Chancellor presumably favourable to their peculiar claims. But despite all quarrels between the Chancellor, the Masters and the students, they all united when it was necessary to fight King or Pope, to play off the one against the other, or further to exploit the town. Licenses to beg were as a rule granted by the Chancellor. These persisted even up to the time of Henry VIII.[1]

The Keepers of the Chests, of which there were twenty-four in Oxford, at the end of the fifteenth century, made a practice of lending money on pledge for a year without interest. Probably the unattached student begged,

Thomas, at the rate of 20 shillings yearly, making in the whole £13.'

Anstey computes the expenses in the later Middle Ages of a student in a hostel with one room to himself :

	£	s.	d.
For Lectures	0	8	0
For rent of his room . . .	0	10	0
For food at 10*d.* a week for 38 weeks	1	11	8
In payment of servants for 38 weeks	0	1	4
	£2	11	0

Fellows of New College received 1*s.* a week for Commons and 18*d.* in time of scarcity.

[1] Statutes of the Realm, 22 Henry VIII, c. 12, 4 : 'And be yt enacted by the aucthoryte aforsayde that Scolers of the Universities of Oxford and Cambrydge that goo about beggying, not beyng aucthorysed under the Seale of the sayde Universities, by the Commyssary Chauncelloure or Vichancelloure of the same, and all and Syngular Shypmen pretendyng losses of theyre shyppes and goodes if the see goyng aboute the countrey beggying wythout suffycyent aucthoryte wytnessyng the same shall be punysshed and ordered in maner and fourme as ys above rehersed of stronge beggers' (i.e. 3, 'to be tyed to the end of a carte naked and be beten wyth Whyppes throughe oute the same market towne or other place tyll his Body be blody by reason of such whyppyng; and after suche punysshement and whyppyng had, the person . . . shall be enjoyned upon his othe to retourne forthewyth wythout delaye in the nexte and streyght waye to the place where he was borne, or where he last dwelled before the same punnysshement').

whilst the member of a Hall had recourse to loans, as he was better known and could get more backing.

Undoubtedly there were many Halls. Fuller enumerates twenty-four of them in existence at the end of the thirteenth century. There is proof of the existence of as many as eighty at Oxford, whilst Huber, quoting Richard of Armagh, defends the statement that there were three hundred, with an average of one hundred students apiece. This would give 30,000 students at Oxford in Halls alone, an incredible number. But reference has already been made to the general looseness of the Middle Ages in regard to numerical estimates; they are merely 'figures of speech.' The Halls gradually sank into unimportance as Colleges arose. Fuller, thinking of Cambridge, likened them 'to stars losing their light when the sun ariseth.' Only 140 students are reported to have been resident in Oxford Halls in 1526, but that was a bad time for Universities. Some of the unattached students 'chummed' together in 'Cameras,' and at a time of riot the shelter afforded by strong places was peculiarly valuable.

Town and Gown riots did not diminish in fury as the years rolled on. After a few days of the fateful battle of St. Scholastica (1354) there were scarcely any Clerks left in Oxford except those who dwelt without the walls in convent or monastery or within them in well-established Halls or incipient Colleges. All the trouble on that occasion arose ostensibly from the Clerks at a Carfax inn throwing wine and the vessels it was served in at the head of the Vintner, who, resenting their opinion of his liquor, gave them 'stubborn and saucy language.' There is, however, little doubt that both sides were waiting an occasion, for the town bell of St. Martin's was soon set ringing, and the Great Bell of St. Mary's pealed out its summons to the University. Then armed mobs set to battling right desperately. Not much damage was done before nightfall, when an ordinary affair would have subsided, but on the following day the Halls of the Scholars were ravaged, and not a few killed and wounded.

Flushed with success, the townsmen proceeded to extreme lengths on the third day. 'With hideous noises and clamours they came and invaded the scholars houses . . . and those who resisted them, and stood upon their defence, particularly some chaplains, they killed, or in a grievous sort wounded. . . . The crowns of some chaplains, that is all the skin so far as the tonsure went, these diabolical imps flayed off in scorn of their Clergy.' Everything was brought to a standstill. The town, however, had overreached itself. The Bishop of Lincoln laid it under interdict ; the King placed it under the jurisdiction of the University. It was not until 1824 that the Mayor was able to free himself from the penance[1] imposed upon him as a result of the outbreak of 1354, and as late as 1800 Richard Cox was fined as Mayor for neglecting his duty in the matter.

The sequence of encounters between Town and Gown was broken continually by the conflicts arising out of the ever-present feud between North and South. A rough boundary between the two Nations was formed by the River Trent.

> And we ordain [ran the Statute of 1432] that if any Master or Scholar, or any other person, so favour any other man's cause for that he is his fellow-countryman, or do withstand him for that he is of a different country, or do give him any manifest occasion whereby any quarrell between Country and Country may like to rise . . . he shall pay over and above the wonted penalties for disturbers of the peace.

On more than one occasion at Oxford much blood was spilt. The homicides were usually compelled to go to Cambridge, perhaps there was a regular exchange between the Universities, for one was as bad as the other. In 1261 the Cambridge Northerners, being overpowered

[1] In 1355 Edward III 'condemned the Mayors, Bailiffs and sixty burghers of Oxford annually to appear at St. Mary's Church to cause a high mass to be said for the souls of the victims and each to offer a penny upon the altar to be divided between the curate and certain poor scholars.' A Communion and sermon were substituted for Mass at the Reformation.

by the Southerners, left *en bloc* for Northampton, where Oxford men had gone in 1238. But the University there never lived to 'commence B.A.' It was dissolved by the King's Writ in 1265.

The Irish seem to have organised disputes on their own account with members of the two other Nations at Oxford; in 1252 they were so powerful as to cause the settlement of the dispute to read 'like a treaty of peace between hostile nations, rather than an act of University legislation.' In spite of this several Irish were killed in 1273. They probably were not mere onlookers in the great fight of 1383, which lasted three days, and caused much blood to flow. Masters and beneficed clergy, as well as the most lawless of the students, took their part in fight and riot in those times.

On the whole there seems to have been as much fighting as studying among the students in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Many of the more serious among them went to Stamford, a place of religious houses and organised teaching; at any rate they alleged the cause of their migration to be disputes and disorders at Oxford. This migration materially alarmed the University, which, powerless itself to suppress the 'schism,' invoked the aid of both Crown and Mitre. Ultimately the malcontents were ejected from Stamford, and as a safeguard against further secessions, candidates for an Oxford degree were compelled to swear that they 'will not give or attend lectures at Stamford, as in a University seat of learning or general college.' This oath continued to be required until 1827, hundreds of years after only the names of Stamford streets were left to show the existence of the academy there. It was not till 1890 that Brasenose College recovered from Stamford what is believed to be the original brazen nose[1] from which the name of the College is derived.

[1] It is thought that Brasenose Hall derived its name from a knocker, fashioned like a leopard's or lion's head, affixed to its door. This knocker is said to have been taken to Stamford at the migration and used at Brasenose Hall there.

The first great epoch of College endowment belongs to the reigns of the first three Edwards (1272–1377), the second to those of the last three Henrys (1422–1547).

If Walter de Merton, hot with indignation as he contemplated the growing power and ample provision of monastery and friary, founded the first college on a regular plan, he did not actually initiate the idea. Apart from the fact that colleges were known to exist at Bologna and at Paris, in which latter place they persisted up to the time of the French Revolution, both William of Durham and John de Balliol, or his spiritual adviser, were at work before him.

It is true that William, who died at Rouen in 1249, merely left three hundred and ten marks for the maintenance in perpetuity of ten Masters of Arts, who would not of their own resources be able to 'live handsomely' as they should. Moreover, as was the custom of the time, and not uncommon at various periods of University history, his bequest served other purposes, probably it reinforced the Chest of St. Frideswide's Priory; and it was not till 1279 that the University using the money actually made provision for four Masters 'well learned of good manners and such as had ruled in arts.' The Statutes governing this small foundation, which grew to be University College,[1] were probably suggested by those of Merton. John de Balliol, Lord of Barnards Castle, 'for a long time unjustly vexed and enormously damnified' the Churches of Tynemouth and Durham. For these misdoings Walter Kirkham, Bishop of Durham, ordered him in 1263 to be scourged, and required him as he valued his soul to make provision at Oxford for poor students for ever. John apparently did not overestimate the worth of the eternal part of him, for the provision he made was most meagre—some say it was

[1] In 1381 King Richard II was addressed by the 'poor orators, the masters and scholars of your college called Mickil University Hall in Oxenford, which college was first founded by your noble Progenitor, King Alfred (whom God assoyle), for the maintenance of twenty-four Divines for ever.' The Alfred legend thus got early start.

only two pence. But Devorguilla of Galloway, Lady of Balliol, was more solicitous for her lord's eternal welfare, and, anxious that he should not remain in the nether pains, set about giving a permanent character to the House of Balliol in the year 1282. Thus this foundation, like that of University College, was suggested before Walter de Merton began to work out his rule, but that task was finished before these Colleges, profiting by the magnificent conception already revealed at Merton, took similar shape.

Walter de Merton spent twelve years (1264–1276) in developing his Statutes. It was a free society of which he first thought, one not tied by the possession of splendid buildings ; indeed he seemed to be indifferent to the idea of permanence in locality. Those were days of sudden chance and change, and Oxford or Cambridge (where, in 1266 he acquired land and a house) might, or might not, he thought, continue to be desirable places. The real seat of Merton authority, at least for the first few years, was at Malden or Farleigh, where the Warden resided, and where Merton had founded a hospital for poor and infirm clergy. The Statutes of 1274, however, regard Oxford as the place of habitation for ever. At first the College consisted of some twenty Scholars, all nephews of the Founder. They were prohibited from entering religious Orders. In fact, Merton devised a new order of Scholars, living in community but making no vows. These original Scholars fulfilled the later office of Fellows, for not only had they the right as a Council to make additions to the Statutes, but poor boys of the Founder's kin were educated by them, presumably in their turn to become Scholars.

The restriction to Founder's kin exercised a narrowing influence in Oxford, which Cambridge fortunately escaped. William of Wykeham and Henry Chichele introduced the principle rigorously into New College and All Souls, and it persisted until abolished by the Commissions of the nineteenth century.

Merton had no desire to make his scholars unduly

comfortable. They were to live frugally, contented with bread and beer, and one course of flesh or fish a day. After his death (1277) there were many complaints as to the departure of the society from the right way.

At their scrutinies, which were in early days held three times a year, instead of using the opportunity for healthy criticism of one another, it is said that the Scholars simply quarrelled. There was certainly nothing lacking in directness. 'John the Chaplain' was accused in 1338 of wearing 'unfitting boots and dress' and of quarrelling with his servant and calling him a thief. The Warden was not immune. He 'talked too much, neglected his financial duties and absented himself without due cause.'

But however his society may have misused its privileges in those early days, Merton may be acclaimed as a pioneer of education. The residential college system is one of the glories of English life and institutions, and a matter of interest and admiration to the whole world. Peculiarly, in its success at least, an English creation, it does not lend itself easily to imitation, although it might rightly, perhaps even more gloriously, grow in some new land beyond the seas from some such seed as Merton planted.

The modern idea of a College seems to be bound up with the creation of a quadrangle, with Hall and Chapel, but Merton did not originate this idea, it developed at hazard. It is true that he rebuilt the parish church, but so little was a chapel part of the College plan that Hugh de Balsham in founding Peterhouse at Cambridge (1284) made no provision for one; indeed that College possessed no such building until 1632. The first Chapel built exclusively for a College was that of Pembroke, Cambridge, in 1355. The absence of provision for a cemetery in any College Statutes may perhaps be taken as an indication that, unlike the monasteries, the Colleges were never intended to be places of permanent residence, although, in the notable and indeed peculiar Colleges — King's at Cambridge,

The Bridge of Trinity College, Cambridge

and New College at Oxford—Fellows were customarily buried in the precincts, or cloisters.

It is remarkable that Cambridge, which was in no sense the rival of Oxford in the Middle Ages, should have developed the college system as rapidly as it did. The reputation which Oxford acquired for heresy in the days of Wyclif, and indeed earlier, may have had not a little to do with this. Hugh de Balsham obtained a charter in 1280 authorising him to make provision for scholars in the Hospital of St. John, a house of the Augustinian Canons ; but the Regulars and Seculars failed to agree, and in consequence the Scholars removed in 1284 to two hostels next the Church of St. Peter without Trumpington Gate, and Peterhouse started on its long and notable life.

No other College was founded in Cambridge for over forty years, when Richard Badew, Chancellor of the University, seeing the need for more Colleges, conceived a society (University Hall, 1326) which was afterwards developed by the Lady Elizabeth Clare (1338) into Clare College. Thus was initiated a new period of real foundation and zeal. King's Hall (afterwards merged into Trinity) (1337), Pembroke (1347) and Gonville Hall (1348) were all firmly established before 1350 and were succeeded almost at once by Corpus Christi (1352) as the result of rare and indeed unique co-operation between Town and Gown. The Guilds of Corpus Christi, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary, became united as 'the Guild of the precious Body of Jesus Christ and the glorious Virgin Mary his Mother.' So strengthened, they endowed the College just before the Black Death and the unsettled times which followed it. In 1381, the year of the Peasants' Revolt, the town attitude was hostile in the extreme. The Bailiffs and commonalty sacked the College to which they had given birth—'breaking open the house and doors they traitorously carried away the charters, writing and muniments.' But that warlike prelate Henry Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, went to Cambridge and 'seasonably suppressed their madness,'

as he seems to have done with equal effect throughout the Eastern Counties when Jack Straw and Tyler 'played Rex in and about London.' In any conflicts with the University, the town always came off, if not second best, at least embarrassed; and in this case it hung a millstone round its neck, as in all later disputes any claim the University made was declared to have been in the Charters destroyed in 1381, for Corpus Christi was not the only College which lost its documents. Pestilence and war occupied a barren century for Cambridge. Oxford, however, turned both calamities to use. William of Wykeham [1] founded New College (1379) to repair the scarcity of scholars brought about by their ravages. Subsequently Henry Chichele,[2] a loyal Wykehamist, founded All Souls (1437) to benefit those 'who fell in the wars for the Crown of France.' All Souls was a chantry as well as a College. Lincoln (1427), the other foundation of the time, was a protest against the implications of Lollardism: 'to defend the mysteries of the sacred page against these ignorant laics who profaned with swinish snouts its most holy pearls.' It was well for Bishop Richard Fleming, its Founder, that he could not foresee the day when John Wesley was welcomed as Fellow in the College, but similar reflections could be indulged in concerning most of the pre-Reformation benefactors.

[1] 'William of Wykeham's parents were said to have been of humble condition; William was the first of his family who assumed a coat-of-arms. The well-known motto which he added thereto and bequeathed to his College suggests an honourable disclaimer of noble lineage. His father is said to have been a freed villein, and the chevrons of his arms have been supposed to be an allusion to his trade of carpenter. Nothing is more probable than that William of Wykeham should have been a carpenter's son. His parents were too poor to have him educated at their own expense; but he lived at a time when Grammar Schools were abundant, and the patronage of promising lads of humble extraction was a recognised work of neighbourly kindness or religious piety.'—*Hastings Rashdall.*

[2] Henry Chichele (1362–1443) was the son of a yeoman educated at Winchester and New College. He was Archbishop of Canterbury 1414, and founded the Chichele Chest in Oxford for relief of poor students.

For nearly one hundred years after the foundation of Corpus Christi, Cambridge was in a state of torpor, so far as the foundation of Colleges was concerned, but Henry VI broke into it by founding 'God's House,' afterwards merged into Christ's in 1439, and most notably when he planned King's College (1441), almost as a University within a University. In the more important details he followed the example of William of Wykeham. Just as New College was the Oxford House of Winchester, so King's College was the Cambridge House of Eton. Yet he kept his foundation clear of the University even to the extent of appointing the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Eton and Oxford both were, to be Visitor. The connection of these two Colleges with their Founders' great schools of youth was more marked than the connection with their Universities. As a result of this, instruction was provided for the students within the Colleges themselves. Henry made this intention quite clear in the second charter of his College.[1] Wykeham commenced and Henry extended the principle of college tutorial instruction which gradually, and more markedly at Oxford, superseded the teaching provided by the Universities. Both Colleges claimed to approve their members for degrees until well on into the nineteenth century. But the special significance of King's College lies in the fact that its connection with Eton at once brought Cambridge, for the first time, as by a supreme gesture, into the main stream of national life. Winchester men may go to Oxford, but Etonians shall henceforth make Cambridge the fitting scene of the triumphs which are inalienable from the sons of the 'Queen of Schools.' At the least, they

[1] 'It is our fixed and unalterable purpose, being moved thereto, as we trust, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, that our poor scholars of our Royal foundation of St. Mary at Eton, after they have been sufficiently taught the first rudiments of grammar, shall be transferred thence to our aforesaid College of Cambridge, which we will shall be henceforth denominated our College Royal of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, there to be thoroughly instructed in a liberal course of study, in other branches of knowledge, and other professions.' (10th July, 1443.)

helped to make Cambridge national rather than provincial, and to prepare it for the time when at the Reformation, reinforced by royal and popular favour, it drew to a level with Oxford, ever afterwards to be regarded by her own sons as ' the first among equals.'

As for the remainder of the Colleges, their foundation will be noticed, and something of their stories told, in the historical order in which each was established, to express the outlook as well as to satisfy the needs of changing times. The Colleges embody the aspirations of Humanists and Protestants, as well as Romanists, and are marked by the political and spiritual adventures of a people whose roots are struck so deep that they can safely make many changes, whilst preserving and developing the best characteristics of the ancient institutions entrusted to their keeping.

CHAPTER IV

SCHOOLMEN, HUMANISTS AND PROTESTANTS

The last great Schoolman, William Ockham, teaching as he did in the interests of a revived nominalism,[1] probably exercised much influence on the mind of the first Protestant, John Wyclif (1320–1384). William Grocyn, the first of the Humanists, did not begin to teach until over one hundred years after Ockham's death.

In raising great issues, Wyclif probably had much to do with the decline of scholastic influence which was proved to be not so much unsound as petty, and not so much a matter for argument as for laughter. This influence continued, however, to dominate disputations and academic thought both at Oxford and Cambridge until, in an astonishingly thorough manner, the Reformation cleared away every vestige of it. Direct theological controversy, involving the issues of life and death, and culminating in martyrdom, tended to overshadow both the decline of scholasticism and the rise of humanism through all the days of the Reformation until the Universities emerged in the time of Elizabeth entirely different in characteristics and outlook. They still possessed buildings and endowments, although in many respects these were strangely altered by the ruthless, if at times constructive, activity of Henry VIII. Osney

[1] Mediaeval dialecticians were divided into Realists and Nominalists. The Realists, influenced by Platonic ideas, maintained that the conception of the Universal (e.g. Church, Humanity) was prior to the comprehension of the Particular (e.g. Churchman, Man). Nominalists, following Aristotle, held that the Particular must be comprehended before the conception of the Universal was possible.

and Rewley had been razed to the ground, but Christ Church was built at this time over and around St. Frideswide's, while King's Hall and Michaelhouse, and much else besides, had been adapted and merged into the glorious foundation of Trinity, Cambridge. The cowl and the tonsure had vanished utterly, and a gayer garb adorned the sons of the country houses who now monopolised the Colleges,[1] except perhaps for very poor students who undertook menial service. There were no unattached students in the towns ; the Colleges, as they could easily do, housed them all.[2] The exercise of government for all practical purposes was entirely in the hands of the College Heads, and there it remained until after the Royal Commissions of 1850.

The beginnings of real unrest in Oxford may be traced back to the times and, indeed, to the person of John Wyclif, Secular and Schoolman. Before his day there was trouble and riot enough ; moreover, 'Scotist' and 'Thomist' were not unnecessarily mild in their denunciations of one another. But this Wyclif controversy was something far different from anything seen before. It resulted in a religious movement and in a new relationship between University and State. If the friars, in the days of their creative power, made the first Oxford Movement, John Wyclif initiated the second.

The Oxford of the time was ripe for adventure. It was the home not only of theology but also of science. Thomas Bradwardine (1290–1349), 'the profound Doctor,' Richard of Wallingford (1292–1336), and William Rede (*d.* 1385), all three of whom were educated at Merton College, between them had made English science pre-eminent. Roger Bacon had already testified

[1] The chief categories were, at Oxford: Nobleman, Gentleman Commoner, Commoner, Servitor. At Cambridge: Nobleman, Fellow Commoner, Pensioner, Sizar.

[2] The number of students at Oxford doubled in Elizabeth's reign. At Cambridge, which fell to its lowest level in Mary's reign, only 28 B.A. degrees had been conferred in 1558; by 1570 the number had risen to 114, and by 1583 to 277. In 1577 there were about 780 students at Oxford and 720 at Cambridge.

to this by describing Oxford in the thirteenth century 'as the one place in Western Europe where the Mathematical Sciences were completely taught.' In such a home of learning the bold and fearless scholar would surely find support. Oxford men followed Wyclif in his metaphysical arguments leading to the theory of 'dominion by grace'; they realised the practical value of his demand for evangelical poverty among churchmen and acquiesced in his Erastian proposals for reform; they even went far with him in his attack on the doctrine of the necessity of priestly absolution and in the scholastic arguments resulting in his famous denial of Transubstantiation. Wyclif was no less successful as a popular preacher than as a University lecturer. London citizens heard him as eagerly as did Oxford scholars. Before he himself sent out 'Poor Priests,' as preachers and missionaries, men of all types were disseminating his views among every class.

Wyclif made Oxford hear him and approve him until Church and State intervened. The friars, whom Wyclif never spared in his denunciations, were powerful, not merely behind the Cathedral, but behind the Throne. The 'noble liberty of Oxford was taken from her' when Chancellor Rygge, coerced by episcopal decree and royal mandate, expelled Wyclif from the University. This great man acquiesced the more patiently because he held that 'an unlearned man with God's grace does more for the Church than many graduates'—an opinion not uncommon among saints in all ages. Thus the men of Oxford, unwillingly enough, proved traitors to the advancement of uncontrolled and unfettered learning. Until the new age of the Renaissance, the history of its Schools was 'bound in shallows and in miseries'; even the study of mathematics languished and the University became a comparatively insignificant place for over a hundred years.

There is no doubt that Wyclif aroused such bitter enmity, not because he was a great thinker, or even because his teachings had reference to the social order,

but because he questioned the doctrines of the Church. 'He propounded strange views about the Holy Eucharist.' The 'poisons of his heresy,' remarks a later Romanist, 'had so widely spread that the University found it necessary in 1412 to compel all masters to formally abjure Wyclifism.' How often in later days were Oxford and Cambridge Masters forced to admit both political theories and religious creeds at dictation from without!

The Church troubled very little about Wyclif until its own privileges and influence were threatened as the result of changing belief. It was, at that time, however, so confident of its power to extirpate heresy that it left the early Lollards, as the followers of Wyclif were called, contemptuously alone; but later they were exposed to the most ruthless persecution.

Thus did John Wyclif stalk across the Oxford scene, a figure of strength and intellectual acumen, inspired by fervour and devotion, seldom losing himself in mere fanaticism, the forerunner of a new order of religious leaders which sprang from the heart of Oxford. He left the University in 1382—banished by its courts, acting under the direction of Chancellor Rygge and Archbishop Arundel—and retired to his Rectory at Lutterworth, where he passed the remaining two years of his life promoting the translation of the Scriptures known as Wyclif's Bible, 'scattering pearls before swine,' as the monks elegantly said.

The writings of Wyclif are in the obscure terminology of scholastic philosophy. As a result they make no appeal in later days to other than students. Oxford, indeed, rid itself of all the copies it could lay hands on by the simple mediaeval process of burning. But this did not take place before certain students, returning to Bohemia, had taken the original manuscripts with them, thus giving the impetus to the movement which was illumined by the martyrdom of John Hus, the recognised hero of the Bohemian revolt against Rome (1415). The profound influence of Wyclif on

the men of Prague was the outcome of continuous communication between the two Universities during the latter half of the fourteenth century, when, as R. F. Young has shown,[1] scholarships were granted to assist Czech students to go to Oxford ; the books of Oxford Masters were recommended by statute in Prague University, and even such a prominent teacher as Jerome of Prague came to Oxford to make copies of Wyclif's works. The twentieth-century student of Wyclif has perforce to rely upon the documents treasured in the city of Prague, where the University, the oldest of the new group on the Continent, was founded in 1347.

But no action by the authorities could banish the Lollard rendering of the New Testament in the vernacular, a work which was a transcendent instance of the combination of reforming zeal and true scholarship.

Although in the fifteenth century 'mediaeval spirituality was giving place to modern materialism' and the need for education beyond the limits of the ecclesiastical class was finding so little satisfaction, there were signs of a deep intellectual and spiritual unrest, penetrating all grades of society. The actual evils of the day did not fail to meet with fierce denunciation from Churchmen of the old type, who disregarded Lollardry and all heresy as a spent force. Yet it was the widespread hostility to the Church and her doctrines which impelled Reginald Pecock (1395 ?–1460 ?), the boldest inquirer of the day, to make known his discoveries in search of truth for the defence of Holy Church. Pecock in 1417 became a Fellow of Oriel, but he is rather remembered as Bishop of St. Asaph and later of Chichester, and as the author of 'The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy' (1455). 'The Repressor' was addressed to the 'lay party' and was an appeal in the vernacular to the common sense of Englishmen. Over against the uncritical acceptance of

[1] 'Bohemian Scholars and Students at the English Universities from 1347 to 1750,' by Robert F. Young, *The English Historical Review* January 1923.

the Scriptures and the crude deductions popularly made from them, Pecock upheld reason and claimed that where the two were in conflict reason must be obeyed. He was no mere Schoolman, although he loved logic and philosophy. He had 'rejected the authority of the old doctors' and, for him, there could be no finality in faith. Such an attitude was unlikely to meet with the approval of Churchmen, especially when it found expression in denying that the Apostles' Creed was the work of those whose name it bore. Churchmen, even the advocates of reform, feared the attack of reason upon their citadel, and did not feel confident that it would leave their assertion of the faith triumphant, whilst it demolished the arguments of their scorned opponents. Once again the pioneer in thought was condemned. Brought before Archbishop Bourchier, Pecock had to recant or go to the stake. He submitted to the Church he loved, and from 1458 was confined in Thorney Abbey, whose Abbot was ordered that 'he was to have nothing to write with and no stuff to write upon.'

The unrest at Oxford in these times and the reputation of the University for heretical teaching had much to do with the enterprising development of Cambridge, including the foundation of Colleges there. But neither University had much to pride itself upon during the fifteenth century. War and pestilence were abroad, but the enthusiasm of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries would have forced its way to expression if, since the death of Ockham, last in the line of great Schoolmen, speculative philosophy had not lost itself in arid discussions and if freedom of thought had not been surrendered in the very home of scholarship. A Renaissance was needed in very truth, and it was at hand. Greek learning was returning to Europe after its long exile in the East. The Humanists were about to develop and express their conviction 'that spiritual and ideal values are of supreme rank in the make-up of reality, and that these values are most adequately expressed in the

great or classic achievements of humanity in literature and art.'

William Grocyn (1446–1519), Thomas Linacre (1460–1524), John Colet (1467–1519), and Thomas More (1478–1535) had all yielded to the charms of Humanism. Even so, it could not be expected that the members of a University working on a low plane, whose stock-in-trade was the old learning, would readily welcome the new.

The roots of Cambridge were struck far more lightly than those of Oxford into the soil of scholastic philosophy. Hence it was more ready to listen to Erasmus (1467–1536) in the early days of the sixteenth century than ever was Oxford to listen to her own son, John Colet, whose writings found their way so completely to Cambridge that not a single manuscript of his was later to be found in Oxford.

The Greek language, apart from the implications of the new learning, was first taught in Oxford by the Italian scholar, Vitelli, in the New College of William of Wykeham during the years 1475 to 1488. Grocyn was probably one of his pupils before he himself taught the subject at Magdalen and, later, at Exeter in 1498, where he numbered both More and Erasmus among his hearers. It was to Oxford that Erasmus came first. He was received by Prior Charnock in St. Mary's College of the Augustinian Canons, and resided there for some months in 1499. So well pleased was he with the order and conversation of Oxford that, like many other students, he stayed until he had spent all his money and was indebted to the College for his commons.

This visit occurred during the time when it became a custom for men of distinguished powers and learning to give voluntary courses of lectures. Thus Colet, for example, lectured on the Epistles of St. Paul. It was by this means rather than by the logical disputation of scholastic learning that the reformers introduced their views. They did not produce a 'thread of nine days long drawn from an antitheme of half an inch,' as Colet

described the dissertations of the Schoolmen ; nor did they defend their theses with an armoury of texts, removed from their context and distorted in meaning. Great as was the value, at the time, of reading, private teaching and, above all, conversation, the real weapon of the men of the New Learning was the lecture, in which they could expound the subject as a whole. Colet's lectures on the Epistle to the Romans contained few references to the Fathers or Schoolmen, but the curious or hostile members of the audience which greeted him at the outset continued to come, 'bringing their note-books with them,' not in a spirit of mere curiosity or hostility, but as patient and confident disciples. In Oxford as a whole, however, the Reformers made slow progress.

In its comparatively rapid adoption of the New Learning, Cambridge found opportunity to surpass Oxford ; but many of its sons who hated Greek repaired to the sister University, there to join the ranks of the 'Trojans,' as the Schoolmen were called, in their war against the 'Greeks.' Corpus Christi College[1] in Oxford, founded by Bishop Fox, became the protector of the Humanists, and gave them opportunity to work in the University, at whose hands they would otherwise have fared ill. In the power to exercise independent judgment in a time of transition lies one of the chief advantages possessed by individual Colleges federated in a University.

The clerks of the country in general were not in favour of the New Learning. They were in danger of being despoiled of the goods they had ready for market.

Erasmus became the first Professor of Greek at an English University. He occupied the Chair at Cambridge from 1511–1513, and is easily the most striking figure in the opening days of the new era at Cambridge. But his heart was with his Oxford friends. 'When I listen to my friend Colet, I seem to be listening to

[1] Bishop Hugh Oldham founded the Grammar School at Manchester in order that youths might be trained in the New Learning before entering at Corpus Christi College. In this he followed, although not in so marked a way, the examples of both William of Wykeham and Henry VI.

Plato himself. Who does not admire in Grocyn the perfection of his training? What can be more acute, more profound, or more refined than the judgment of Linacre? What has nature ever fashioned softer, or sweeter, or pleasanter than the disposition of Thomas More?'

Cambridge, in spite of the high dignity which she conferred upon him, held him but a short time. On November 28, 1513, he wrote to his friend Ammonius 'that he had for some months lived like a cockle shut up in his shell, humming over his books. Cambridge, he said, was deserted because of the plague; and even when all the men were there, there was no large company. The expense was intolerable, the profits not a brass farthing. The last five months had, he said, cost him 60 nobles, but he had never received more than one from his audience. He was going to throw out his sheet-anchor this winter. If successful he would make his nest, if not he would flit. The result was that in the winter of 1513–1514 Erasmus finally left Cambridge.' He took with him gold to sustain him in France, but, owing to an edict forbidding the export of gold, he was despoiled by the Customs Officers. Roger Ascham speaks of his successors in the Chair as 'the stars of the University of Cambridge who brought Aristotle, Plato, Tully, and Demosthenes to flourish as notably as ever they did in Greece or Italy.'

At Oxford the 'Trojans' were quite unable to restrain themselves. So stoutly did they continue their endeavours to hold the University back behind the new times that they had to be warned. The excellent example of Cambridge was placed before them. 'Any further opposition to sound learning,' they were told, 'would alienate the favour of their Chancellor, Warham, their great patron, Wolsey, and their King.' This was a threat strong enough. Moreover, Henry himself expressed his royal pleasure that the students 'would do well to devote themselves with energy and spirit to the study of Greek literature.' The barriers were thrown down, the Greek learning entered, and Oxford set about

improving the teaching of other subjects which had grown somewhat dilapidated in the days of struggle.

Of all the Oxford builders Wolsey,[1] 'their great patron,' is the outstanding figure. He was a man of real power. His vision was true and his touch was sure. 'Into his mind,' it was said, 'nothing mean could enter.' He had gathered supplies from storehouses which were large and well filled, the religious houses of England which had many of them outlived their first works. From these he drew, without so much as 'by your leave,' and he spent with a generosity unparalleled in its magnificence. The power of learning, he knew, had made his own career. The union of learning and religion, he saw, would force the English community to greater heights than ever it had reached before.

As a college builder, he had great exemplars in William of Wykeham and William Waynflete,[2] but he intended to leave New College and Magdalen College as mere hostels in comparison with Cardinal College, the great palace which he contemplated. Only a fragment of his plan reared itself in Oxford, but even so it has proved to be the basis of an incomparable foundation. The first completed work comprised a kitchen, stairway and hall, over which the wits made merry.

> The mountains were in labour once and forth there came
> a mouse,
> Your Cardinal a college planned, and built an eating-house.

[1] Thomas Wolsey (1471–1530) was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford. He became Henry VIII's chief minister, Archbishop of York and Cardinal, and was said to aim at the Papacy. His sudden fall from power was caused by his failure to obtain papal sanction for the divorce of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon.

[2] William Waynflete (1395–1486), Bishop of Winchester; Lord Chancellor; Headmaster of Winchester and Eton. St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, which he founded in 1458, showed Renaissance and Humanistic characteristics. In the Statutes, 1483, Waynflete provided for three college lectureships (one of these courses was to be delivered at 6 A.M.) and for the definite admission of 'gentlemen commoners' 'to be educated in college.' Magdalen numbered among its members such reformers as Grocyn, Colet, Fox, Wolsey, and Reginald Pole.

Ultimately, even the great quadrangle was not completed by Wolsey, and the walks at its sides, which were to have been cloisters, stand and always will stand open to the skies.

Cardinal College was a conception worthy of so great a man. The quadrangle, with its unfinished cloister, and the spacious hall are sufficient evidence of the fact that he desired to create a new beauty in the realm of England. He knew the power of a College. Apart from buildings, in the construction of which all architecture and craftsmanship were to be laid under tribute, the society of the College was to be inclusive of the best intellect of the time. With its union of the Church and learning, Cardinal College was to be the centre of a new intellectual movement and to dominate the University. Provision was made for sixty canons, forty lesser canons, six professors, chaplains, clerks and choristers. A great school at Ipswich was to be to this College what Winchester was to New College. Henry VIII agreed to ' have an honourable college there, but not so great and of such magnificence as my lord cardinal intended to have.'

Wolsey was much troubled in mind by the fact that the Masters of the University, who had become a numerous body, all had the right, by virtue of their degrees alone, to set up as teachers. Consequently, he endeavoured to encourage the creation of professors and lecturers appointed formally for teaching purposes by the University itself. In this policy he followed the example of Bishop Fisher, who had induced the Lady Margaret to found two Divinity Professorships. He would probably have gone down into history as the greatest of all University reformers if, in the full tide of his magnificent work, he had not fallen under the King's displeasure. Both Oxford and Cambridge submitted their Statutes to him for revision, and it well may be imagined how joyously he would have set about the task in his enthusiasm for education and his sure conviction that the lost force of religion would find itself again

in the School and College. Apart from his masterly foreign statesmanship, his imagination and ability were best expressed in the magnificent educational creations which resulted from his faith in religion and learning.

If Henry had been normal in his attitude towards marriage, the design of Wolsey might easily have been fulfilled, for in what he had accomplished, whether at Ipswich or at Oxford, he had drawn upon only a mere tithe of the wealth of the smaller religious houses. The emissaries of the King viewed the magnificence of Wolsey's work. Their master must have his share, indeed he could have had it and more than enough to satisfy him, and still Wolsey's work could have gone on. But greed and rapacity are enough to ruin any work, however fine. Nevertheless Henry was brought to stand as the patron of learning, and set himself to continue in some sort of way, although on a much smaller scale, the work of his fallen minister. He united the new see of Oxford and the Collegiate Corporation under the name and style of '*Ecclesia Christi Cathedralis Oxon: ex fundatione Regis Henrici Octavi.*' Indeed, he became so intent upon his work as College founder that he turned to rend those 'greedy wretches' who 'gaped after the lands belonging to the Colleges,' which for all they cared might share in the general downfall of the monasteries. Henry clearly was in the succession of Walter de Merton when he said :

> Whereas we had a regard only to pull down sin by defacing the monasteries, you have a desire also to overthrow all goodness, by subversion of Colleges. I tell you, sir, that I judge no land in England better bestowed than that which is given to our Universities, for by their maintenance our realm shall be self-governed when we be dead and rotten. I love not learning so ill that I will impair the revenues of any one house by a penny whereby it may be upholden.

It would have been a good thing for the Colleges if he had remained true to his lofty declaration. His love of learning may indeed be suspected. He needed

friends badly. Who could possibly prove more useful than the secular clergy who occupied the Colleges? They had no natural love of the monks; they were now ready to banish scholasticism, indeed to ridicule it; the Universities were in confusion; Henry was breaking up the old order. It is not easy to decide how far greed and lust were the dominating forces in his policy, but that he secured by his professed devotion to learning, of which the support of the Colleges was a pledge, a popularity all his own, is sure. He looks out in pride over the glorious foundations of Christ Church at Oxford and Trinity at Cambridge, this blustering, bluff 'King Hal,' patron of learning and the arts, progenitor of grammar schools everywhere, 'Defender of the Faith,' English to the heart of him, but with both brain and body running amok in the fair realm of England. 'A prince of a most royal courage, sooner than miss any part of his will, he will endanger one-half of his kingdom.'

Henry himself had regard to Cambridge; it had shown 'Wisdom and good conveyance' so far as he was concerned, earlier in the day than Oxford; accordingly it must have a new foundation of a splendour all its own. King's Hall and Michaelhouse were therefore transformed, legally and materially, into Trinity College. Funds from recently dissolved religious houses enabled Henry to endow the new creation liberally. Its charter was granted in 1546, the year in which the foundation of Christ Church was completed. Yet Edward III, and not Henry VIII, is still described as the founder of the College in the inscription over the gate at the west end of the Chapel, which reads '*Edwardus Tertius fundator Aulae Regis* 1337.' This inscription still claims pride of place, for King's Hall passed into Trinity without a break. Henry himself has to be contented with sharing the great gate with James I and his children, but he has continual survey of the meals of the society in the Great Hall. His portrait has the place of honour there. He loved good feeding.

An England severed from Rome was not likely to allow the Universities to remain in her communion, even though the Crown did not assume direct power over them. The evidences of popery were to be eliminated ; the 'Edwardian' statutes made that plain, even as they almost emptied the Universities of unendowed students. The panoply and ornaments of the old religion were destroyed or distributed, and in the resulting uncertainty the wells of learning were choked. It was a time of confusion, and piles of intellectual rubbish were left lying about. Mary succeeded Edward, and once again the Universities had to change the expression of their learning as their whole manner of life. The Cambridge martyrs—Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley—were burned at Oxford. Mary swept away with a broom vigorous and unkind those who had acquiesced, however superficially, in the new order. Religious trials usurped the place of academic disputations. 'Lovers of the old order and adherents of the old religion' founded in this period both Trinity College and St. John's College at Oxford.

It must have been a discomforting thing to have been a University teacher with any convictions, 'much troubled and hurried up and down by the changes in religion,' each of which brought with it a Commission and a purgation of the Universities by the removal of the prominent supporters of whichever party was for the moment declared to be heretical. At one moment we find a teacher, skilled in the dialectic of the Schoolmen, enjoying quiet and unchallenged communion with Holy Church. Suddenly his subject or his treatment of it is discredited. He is ordered to abandon it, or at least to support the introduction of the New Learning. Hardly has he adapted himself, if at all, when he is hurried into a repudiation of his old religious loyalties, by a royal will that brooks no delay. Perchance he manages to keep his old faith, and blossoms forth again in Mary's reign, finally to suffer, or again disguise it, when Elizabeth throws in her lot and the lot of England once and for all with the Protestants.

After all the chance and change, the ejections, the persecutions and the martyrdoms, it is a matter for wonder that both Oxford and Cambridge recovered with such rapidity in the Elizabethan age. It may have been that scholarship played but a small part in comparison with the whole range of University life. Colleges were pleasant places ; there were emoluments ; the sons of the gentry had to go somewhere to sense the great world, and what places could be better than the ancient homes of learning wrung from the old philosophy and the still older religion ?

The foundation at Cambridge by Sir Walter Mildmay of Emmanuel College in 1584 is conspicuous during the reign of Elizabeth as a most important post-Reformation foundation. 'So, Sir Walter,' said Queen Elizabeth, 'I hear you have erected a Puritan foundation.' 'No, Madam,' he answered, 'far be it from me to countenance anything contrary to your established laws, but I have set an acorn which, when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what the fruit will be thereof.' It grew to be a lusty tree ; even in 1634 Fuller comments, 'Sure I am at this day that it hath overshadowed all the University.' In a later day its refreshing shade fell on the New World. For if oak it were, one of its acorns was planted tenderly, yet with power, hard by Boston in Massachusetts. There a mighty tree has risen, first in the academic groves of a great and growing people. The life of John Harvard [1] was brief, but on account of the prominent part which he played in the foundation of a new Cambridge he ranks as one of the most notable sons of a great College. Emmanuel because of him has drawn to itself a veneration and respect, not only in New England but throughout the United States, which is not accorded to any other English foundation. It is a shrine of the most deep and sacred life of the American Commonwealth.

[1] John Harvard (1607–1638) was of humble origin. He graduated M.A. 1635. Settled in Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1637. The first meeting of the Massachusetts Company was held at Cambridge in 1629, and resulted in their final resolve to cross the Atlantic and settle in the New World.

The troubles of the times had similar effects in both Universities, but Cambridge found in the Reformation a great opportunity. From the outset it was more ready than Oxford to abandon the old faith. Cambridge, it has been said, educated the martyrs and Oxford burnt them. Mary wooed Trinity with persistence, but with small effect. The reaction against the accompaniments of the old religion was more violent there than perhaps in any other College. Certainly in Robert Beaumont, who fled to Zurich in Mary's reign, it had an extremist as Master from 1561–1567. He was prominent in Calvinistic opposition to the ordinances of Elizabeth and Parker. When he was about to die he ordered that 'no vain jangling of bells nor other popish ceremonies should be allowed to disturb the peace of his burial.' Perhaps his outburst was the more violent because St. John's, the great rival of Trinity, seems to have been much more addicted to ceremonial in religion.

It may be well to pause a little at this point and look forward into a future which will be considered more in detail in later chapters.

As we have seen, the mediaeval Church and State crippled mediaeval Oxford by suppressing the rising thought of the time as expressed and interpreted by Wyclif. It does not matter whether the teachings were right or wrong. Attempts at outside interference with the mind and spirit of a University will either strengthen its power or weaken it. The former result will happen if the interference be successfully opposed, the latter if it be effective. That, however, is not the end of it. Once shown the way and the desirability of following it, every claimant for power will seek to subject the University to his will. In all the days that are to follow, right up to the large and spacious nineteenth century, Oxford and Cambridge were hindered in their full and free development by those who sought to control them and to make them seminaries instead of Universities. In spite of brilliant achievements they were only

Universities in name. In real fact they were sectarian institutions harried and torn by political disputes.

All are to blame, the mediaeval Church and State, who were the first offenders and therefore responsible for all the rest, and afterwards the Tudors, Stuarts, and Cromwell in turn. They sought to bind the Universities in Statutes, to exclude all save those who held the views on religion approved at the time, and often only for the time.

The main reason for these attempts was that politics and religion were interwoven, and 'tuning the pulpits' was as important to politicians as 'tuning the press' is now. It may be partly because the press is so important nowadays that the political pressure exercised upon the Universities in the twentieth century is so insignificant. Pulpits, except in times of stress, are comparatively unheeded in political matters. But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was hardly a year free from stress. The pulpits were filled by men trained at Oxford and Cambridge, and the Universities were not to be left free to train the preachers as they liked. All that part of the nation which was for the moment unorthodox in its opinion was, of set purpose, excluded, and men's minds and consciences were far from free in both undergraduate and graduate days.

The low level of thought and life which was characteristic of both places in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is therefore very largely due to this control and this outside interference exercised by King and Parliament. The University Tests, happily abolished in 1871, were imposed on the Universities by the State. In the first instance they were not a voluntary act of the Universities themselves. A University cannot thrive, cannot be itself, if it is 'cabined, cribbed, confined' within the limits of sect or party, if distinctions of class or sex hinder the admission of those who are scholars by nature, or if men of brains and character but of little or no financial means are unable to live and study within its precincts. The rise of Oxford and Cambridge out

of the slough of the eighteenth century as they strove to repel or to neutralise the forces which hampered their true development is one of the most fascinating and encouraging studies which English life and institutions afford.

CHAPTER V

CAVALIER AND ROUNDHEAD

The Universities, as the result of the Elizabethan Codes, by the beginning of the seventeenth century had become federations of independent and autonomous Colleges. They had passed with comparative immunity through the stormy times of the Reformation, and Cambridge at least had secured new privileges, both ample and honourable. Elizabeth had taken a pride in both of them, and they had not failed to take full advantage of her favour. The pupil of Roger Ascham justified her 'schoolmaster' in her love of learning. She appreciated and enjoyed Disputations in St. Mary's, Oxford, 'until the time of lighted candles.' 'Farewell, farewell, dear Oxford,' she exclaimed passionately, 'God bless thee and increase thy sons in number, holiness and virtue.' If she viewed with some misgiving the rise of Puritanism in both Universities, and particularly in Cambridge, yet she never withheld her interest or her favour, though she was not minded to lavish much money even on a foundation all her own.[1] It was characteristic of her that she preferred to patronise rather than to pay. The reform of Oxford was carried out under the direction of her favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and that of Cambridge mainly by the energetic ability of John Whitgift. The Codes of Elizabeth set the seal on Universities controlled by the Colleges as such, rather than by the general body of Masters and Doctors, discussing and voting in their democratic assemblies.

But over both Universities lay the menacing or,

[1] Elizabeth is the nominal founder of Jesus College at Oxford. Hugh Price was the real founder.

according to the time, encouraging shadow of the State, destined to materialise in energetic and ruthless action not merely once, nor twice, in an eventful century, through the middle years of which 'Cavalier' and 'Roundhead' rode or stalked, personifying the main streams of social, religious, and political aspiration in English life.

From the days when the troubles which led to the Civil War began to reveal themselves, religious and political feeling ran high in the Universities. The presentation of the Millenary Petition [1] (1603) provoked Cambridge to forbid its members to find 'fault with the doctrines or discipline of the Church of England,' while Oxford accused the petitioners of 'factious conduct in daring to disturb the King with their complaints.' The suppression of Puritan feeling, however, was not long the order of the day at Cambridge. James received poor welcome there in 1615, and eleven years later the nomination of Charles' favourite, Buckingham, as Chancellor met with active though unsuccessful opposition. By 1629 the Stuart regime had aroused such bitter hostility that one preacher prayed that Henrietta the Queen might 'see Jesus Christ whom she hath pierced with her infidelity, superstition and idolatry.'

Oxford, on the other hand, was instant in expressing its loyalty to the Crown. A young preacher named Knight in 1622 held that subjects might lawfully take up arms against the Prince for their religion, and quoted as his authority Pareus, Professor of Divinity at Heidelberg. The Vice-Chancellor sent him before the Council in London for trial. James ordered the works of Pareus to be burned in London, Cambridge, and Oxford, and the latter University repudiated the offending opinions and demanded an oath against them from all future graduates.

[1] The Millenary Petition, asking for certain minor changes of a Puritan character within the Church, was presented to James I by about one-tenth of the clergy on his accession. Its name originated in the claim that it bore one thousand signatures. The Petition was refused.

It was the beginning of the pamphleteering age and, in spite of the official attitude of the University, Oxford pamphleteers were no less vigorous than those of Cambridge. The indomitable William Prynne (1600–1669) was in the thick of the fight against Episcopacy, as he was later against Independency. The controversy of the day was concerned with ceremonial usage rather than with doctrine. The courtiers who accompanied Charles to Oxford in 1636 derived much satisfaction from the improved ornaments of the Chapels. One of them wrote : 'The churches or chapels of all the Colleges are much beautified ; extraordinary cost bestowed on them, scarce any cathedral church, not Windsor or Canterbury, nay, not St. Paul's choir, exceeds them. Most of them new glazed ; richer glass for figures and paintings I have not seen, which they had most from beyond the seas ; excellently paved their choirs with black and white stone. Where the east end admits not glass, excellent pictures, large and great, church work of the best kind they could get from the other side, of the birth, passion, resurrection, and ascension of our blessed Saviour ; all their communion-tables fairly covered with rich carpets hung some of them with good hangings.'[1] He could not have written so of Cambridge Chapels, for there Laud, who expressed indignation at the omission to provide for the consecration of certain of them, was told that 'they were consecrated by faith and good conscience.' The Puritan and High Churchman faced one another in unyielding attitude. Nothing caused more irritation to the Puritans than the 'papist' custom of bowing and genuflection—a matter which William Prynne, who in 1610 had entered at Oriel, dealt with trenchantly in 'Lame Giles, his haltings,' as an answer to the defence of the practice by Giles Widdowes put out in 1631.

The culminating point in the triumph of the Royalist party in Oxford came in 1636, when Laud, now both Chancellor of the University and Archbishop of Canter-

[1] Garrard to Conway. Quoted in the *History of England*, 1603–1642. Ten volumes. By S. R. Gardiner, LL.D. Vol. viii, p. 152.

bury, welcomed Charles on a visit to Oxford. Christ Church received the Royal party. In the evening a play by William Strode, Public Orator, was performed in the Hall. (Lord Carnarvon described it as 'the worst that he ever saw but one that he saw at Cambridge.') The next day Laud took the King to the Bodleian, where he was so engrossed that he stayed more than an hour and was then unwilling to leave. The visit ended with a banquet and play at St. John's. But it is said that amid all the festivities of Charles' reception both 'scholars and citizens were alike silent.' The dread of the coming days had crept into the hearts of these onlookers at the unfolding drama in which Crown, Church, and University were inextricably mingled.

The most striking and potent personality in the days of the 'Cavalier' King, whether in University or State, was undoubtedly Laud. He did a noble work in Oxford, and put Cambridge in fear that similar activities might be expected there. In 1611 he was elected President of St. John's, Oxford, the College which in 1590 had chosen him as Scholar on the nomination of the Mayor and Corporation of Reading.[1] In the restricted area of the College, the justness of his mind and the unselfishness of his actions were appreciated and set against the zeal he manifested for continuous reform, regardless of the susceptibilities of the persons involved. The period of his rule was marked by tranquillity and disciplined progress.

Things were far otherwise after he was elected Chancellor of the University, much against his will, in 1630. In the larger world without he had few friends, and he made but few in Oxford outside his own College, for he held an unenviable reputation owing to the

[1] Sir Thomas White, who founded St. John's (1555), was an old boy of Reading School, which, originally attached to the Abbey, was given over to the Corporation by a Charter of Elizabeth in 1562. As in duty bound, he founded two scholarships in perpetuity. They are still awarded, and the Borough of Reading continues to be proud of its succession of scholars, several of whom in late years have risen from elementary schools.

suspicion which had clung to him ever since he revealed his High Church tendencies in an early sermon preached in 1606. He persecuted the Puritans ; yet he was so intensely loyal to the Reformation settlement that, High Churchman though he was, he would allow no Romish priests in the University.[1]

The state of Oxford pleased the new and unwilling Chancellor but little. It was full of miserable brawlings, aroused by disputations concerning Church and State. The Elizabethan Code had fallen into confusion. Laud, with characteristic ability, though probably with little tact, set to work and produced in 1636 the ' Laudian ' or ' Caroline ' Statutes, which governed the University until the Acts of 1854 and 1856. He altered few, if any, of the guiding principles of the Elizabethan Code, but he reduced everything to order.[2]

As Archbishop of Canterbury he had a lively conscience in respect of Cambridge, and, in spite of the resistance of that University, his right to visit it was vindicated before King and Council. But he never found opportunity to work his will there. Soon after his authority was made clear, the University became a ' Roundhead ' centre in the Civil War, and Laud never saw the place again. So Cambridge rejoiced or suffered under the Elizabethan Code for three centuries more.

The chief characteristic of the Laudian Statutes, and the only one which need detain us, was the provision

[1] Laud used as defence in his trial the fact that he had reconverted William Chillingworth (1602–1644) from Rome. The study and conversation of University ' Schollars ' in his time turned chiefly upon controversies between the Churches of England and Rome. Chillingworth himself would ' often walk in the College grove and contemplate, but when he met with any Scholar there he would enter into discourse and dispute with him purposely to facilitate and make a way of wrangling common with him, which was a fashion used in those days especially among the disputing theologists or among those who set themselves apart purposely for divinity.'

[2] As Chancellor, Laud insisted on obedience to academic regulations, and by his Statutes introduced a good administrative system under a Vice-Chancellor appointed by the Chancellor and Convocation from among the Heads. Public oral examinations for both B.A. and M.A. superseded the Disputations.

constituting the Heads of Houses, with the addition of two Proctors, nominated by the Colleges in rotation, and of a Vice-Chancellor, who was always to be a Head, into a new body called the Hebdomadal Council, without whose consent no permanent statute or temporary decree could be brought before the Convocation of Masters and Doctors.

More astonishing powers were resident under the Elizabethan Code in the 'Caput Senatus' at Cambridge, composed of the Chancellor, a Doctor of each of the three Faculties, a 'Non-Regent and 'Regent' Master of Arts. No Grace of any nature whatsoever could be submitted to the Houses of Regents and Non-Regents which had not been approved by every member of the Caput. Both were surprising bodies to be endured by active corporations, in the one instance for over two hundred, and in the other for nearly three hundred, years. But very few of these years were notable for the progress made in them.

Around and within the Universities, in spite of Laud, Puritan pamphleteers were still busy. No course of action appeared to have any effect on Prynne, judged even by J. R. Green to be 'the most obstinate and narrow-minded of men.' In 1633 he produced his 'Histriomastix,' an attack on the plays of the day and those 'devils incarnate' who attended them, with an obvious reflection upon the Queen. For this, Prynne was sentenced by the Court of Star Chamber to stand in the pillory, lose his ears, and be degraded from his profession, and (with the joyful compliance of the University of Oxford) to lose his degree.

With the Church in full possession, ecclesiastical disputes in the Universities were frequent and persistent. Never were they more acute than at Oxford in 1641, the year before Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham. The interpretation given to Episcopacy by Laud caused it to be identified with 'Popery,' the unforgivable sin of the time; consequently the Puritans, especially those whose Calvinistic tendencies were more extreme, challenged it repeatedly.

Oxford thought it necessary in this fateful year to

petition 'the high and honourable Court of Parliament on behalf of Episcopacy and Cathedralls.' It would seem, however, that the 'Schollars' of Oxford relied not so much upon the divine origin or inherent soundness of these institutions as upon the argument that they provided opportunities for preferment. Parliament, with such men as Pym and Hampden leading it, must have been little moved, but Charles I, to whom the petition was also presented, clinging to Oxford and the Church for support, answered that 'Learning and Studies must needs perish if the honours and rewards of learning were destroyed.' An attack on the petition printed in pamphlet form in London in 1641 dealt mercilessly with Bishops as those who would 'fain live merrily, and feed upon the fat, and drinke the sweet, like lazy drones which rob the labouring bees,' and apostrophised Cardinal Wolsey as a 'proud trayterous wretch,' one of those who 'build monuments of their pietie.' 'They have built faire houses which might be usefull if they were better imployed: for as they are now, they are not the honour of this Kingdome in the sight of forraine Nations, but its disgrace.' As for the Professors, 'they are so accustomed to idleness, that their learning goeth not out of their Colledges, there they stay themselves; if they are sent to a Benefice abroad they can preach but seldome; for they have not been used to it, and now they cannot learne.' 'The selling of Fellowships will helpe the Masters that remaines there, but that was not the Founders intent.' 'The revenews is that you strike most upon; you have made voyde the intents of the Donors in preferring those which bid most whose friends are greatest and keeping poore Schollars out for whom it was intended, poore indeed.'

The times were indeed out of joint so far as the petitioners and those who believed with them were concerned. Charles was little able to defend his own. It soon became clear that the hierarchy of the Church was to be laid aside, if not destroyed. Those religious practices, however excellent, which did not square with

the conception of austere Puritanism were condemned in an Order of Parliament of June 28, 1641. It was probably in harmony with this order that on August 6, 1641, the Puritans of Cambridge exhibited Articles in Parliament against 'William Beale, Doctor of Divinity and Master of St. John's Colledge.' These Articles are of so characteristic a nature as to justify their complete inclusion in a note.[1]

[1] 'Articles Exhibited in the Parliament against William Beale, Doctor of Divinity and Master of St. John's Colledge. 6th of August 1641.

'That hee presumptuously preached a Sermon at St. Pauls in London 1640 which did not only contain Hereticall Doctrine, but did also applaud and extoll the Papists to be the Kings truest Subjects, and most loyall in the whole Kingdome.

'That in another Sermon at the same Church he did positively confirm with an audacious confidence and insolency that the Puritans were Traitors to the Crowne in three respects (or at least as bad as Traitors).

1. Of their obstinacy.
2. Of their Schismaticall Religion.
3. Of their Disloyaltie.

And therefore in his opinion they either ought by coertion to bee compelled to their Conformity, or to suffer extremity of Law.

'That by sufficient proof and authority he preached in St. Maries against the subjects freedome and liberty.

'That in the same Sermon hee said it was a sin of damnation not to bow at the name of Jesus, and his Argument he produced out of the Scripture false quoted, and that the sin was the same for not bowing with submissive reverence to the Communion Table both at our first entrance and departure out of the Church.

'That in his Colledge he did most tyrannically usurp Conformity, and did exult in a most Majesteriall way, commanding the Deanes of the said Colledge to execute the inflictions of severe punishments on all those who would not observe Conformity as to bow very low at the comming in at the Chappel to the Communion Table, and likewise at their going out thereof without any exception both of the Fellowes, Schollers and Students of the said Colledge.

'That because those papisticall Innovations did oppose the pious Consciences of some which would not observe them, there were foure expelled upon the non-performance thereof.

'That after the expulsion of those hee commanded the President-Lecturers and Deanes to admit none into the Colledge, unless they took an absolute Oath of the performannce thereof.

'That he was the sole encourager of Dr. Cozins in his Vice Chancellourship, to tyranise in that Jesuitical, Popish, and Canterburian Religion, which doth manifestly appeare first, that by his especiall means hee was elected Vice Chancellour, then by his often

William Beale rendered considerable assistance to the King at the outbreak of war in 1642, but was captured and imprisoned by the Commonwealth for three years, after which he died in exile in Spain. The Articles were not immediately effective in ejecting him from his Mastership of the College, but whilst he was in prison his place was taken by John Arrowsmith. As he died nine years before the Restoration, he had no chance of a return to office.

This energetic and acrimonious controversy between High Churchman and Puritan was on its better side an evidence of the intellectual activity which characterised seventeenth-century England. In both Universities the theories of famous Continental teachers were well known and discussed, whether Bodin's theory of sovereignty or the social contract theory of his opponents, or Grotius's teachings of international law based upon the laws of nature. Richard Hooker (1554?–1600) of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, published his 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' and by so doing won a place among the thinkers of the time. Francis Bacon (1561–1626) was the greatest ornament of Cambridge, and although much is credited to him that would occasion him surprise, yet he 'did

frequenting and encouraging him unto tyrannycall usurpation, and publicke promulgation of that Romish Religion.

'That he commanded the Deanes of the said Colledge to severely punish according to the exprest infliction who would not likewise convert their face towards the East, at Glory be to the Father, etc., and many times in Divine Service, so that he did luxuriously introduce Popish Innovations and Ceremonies.

'That at the Offring at the Communion he compelled the Fellowes to give twelve pence, the Batchellors of Arts eight pence, and the Pensioners six pence, and the Subsizers four pence, which after it was collected was never given to the poore according to the intent of those which gave it charitably, but was forthwith put to their private use either for erecting Pictures, or Images or divers other Idolatrous things, or Wax Candles, and a numerous multiplicity of the like detestations.

'That hee did seduce and allure divers young Students out of other Colledges, promising them upon their Conformitie great preferment in his Colledge, which he did frequently, and those who were proper for preferment, were frustrated and withall greatly contemned without any respect, because they did not observe his Papisticall Superstition.'

more than anyone else to help to free the intellect from preconceived notions and to direct it to the unbiased study of facts.' John Selden (1584–1654) of Hart Hall, with his wide range of studies and his extensive and detailed work, stands among the most impressive of all the students of the day. He opposed Grotius on the subject of international law, and maintained that 'the King of Great Britain is sovereign of the surrounding seas.' In the theories of government, Selden definitely adopted a utilitarian attitude, throwing in his lot with neither the upholders of authority nor the defenders of liberty. 'A KING is a thing men have made for their own sakes, for quietness' sake,' he says indifferently, 'just as in a family one man is appointed to buy the meat. If every man should buy, or if there were many buyers, they would never agree; one would buy what the other liked not, or what the other had bought before, so there would be a confusion. But that charge being committed to one, he according to his discretion pleases all. If they have not what they would have one day, they shall have it the next, or something as good.' As for religion, it 'is like the fashion, one man wears his doublet slashed, another laced, another plain, but every man has a doublet. We differ about the trimming.'

Selden's attitude towards learning in a time of such bitter religious discord is characteristic. Whatever else might be sacrificed, the Universities were to be spared and encouraged. Cambridge owed to him the safe delivery of Archbishop Bancroft's library,[1] and in 1647

[1] Richard Bancroft (1544–1610) was a member of Christ's, Cambridge, Archbishop of Canterbury (1604), and Chancellor of Oxford University (1608). 'He bequeathed his valuable library to his successors in the see of Canterbury . . . on the condition that they should successively give security for the due preservation of the collection in its entirety. . . . When at the puritan revolution the episcopal office was abolished, Bancroft's library was, by order of parliament, transferred to the university of Cambridge. . . . At the Restoration, Archbishop Sheldon asserted his claim, and the collection went back to Lambeth.' Gilbert Sheldon (1598–1677) graduated at Trinity College, Oxford, 1617, became Archbishop of Canterbury 1663, and as Chancellor of the University of Oxford built the Sheldonian in 1669.

Oxford escaped more than one shrewd blow because he was on the Committee of Appeals from the Puritan Commission, which included such bitter men as Prynne himself.

Among Selden's most interesting contributions to learning was his careful study of Oriental languages—an interest which he shared with many others of the day. He bequeathed Persian, Turkish, and Chinese books, among others, to the Bodleian. Laud himself gave a number of Arabic manuscripts. This communication with the East was maintained throughout the century, and resulted in an attempt to secure union between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches, surprisingly similar to that which is being made at the present day.

Perhaps no men expressed the inquiring, analytical spirit of the time more fully than the poets of the middle seventeenth century, who were generally University men. They attempted to be both poets and metaphysicians. As John Donne (1573–1631) of Hart Hall sought to understand and interpret love and religion, so George Herbert (1593–1633) of Trinity, Cambridge, Henry Vaughan (1622–1695) of Jesus College, Oxford, Thomas Traherne (1630–1674) of Brasenose College, Oxford, Richard Crashaw (1613?–1649) of Peterhouse, and Abraham Cowley (1618–1667) of Trinity, Cambridge, tried to analyse and express the life of the spirit which animated all their experience. Not all men, however, were able to regard the controversies from the standpoint of either philosophers or poets, and before long the clash of arms was heard in England.

The Civil War scattered both Universities. At the first alarm money and plate were sent to Charles from Oxford ; scholars left their books and took to drill, only to be scattered by Lord Say, who entered Oxford with Parliamentarian forces. Books and pictures were burned and images smashed, while the plate of Christ Church was dragged out from behind a wainscot. Oxford, however, was not long to suffer at the hands of Parliament. The Royalists desired it for their head-quarters, and

Charles made haste thither. With the King came all the frivolity and gaiety of his Court, and the College quadrangles were soon 'swarming with play-actors and peeresses, Jesuits and Privy Councillors,' the parks were laid out for training Royalist cavalry, and 'often Rupert, issuing from the fortress of Magdalen College at the Bridge head, where he was quartered with the hardest riders of the army, could be seen by the first light of morning high on Shotover Hill, galloping towards glory and plunder afar.' The whole scene is vividly expressed by G. M. Trevelyan in 'England under the Stuarts':

> Indeed, no military virtue except dashing valour was stimulated by the atmosphere of Oxford. A gentleman who had no pay but plunder, and no discipline but honour, could not be called to account if he chose to spend one month in the field and one at Court; if he volunteered on a forage with Rupert because the lady was cruel or the husband inquisitive, and came galloping back in mid-campaign. Fashionable women, the despair of army reformers in every age, held sway in the college rooms, disturbing Aristotle's reign over the spiders of three centuries, and making gaol delivery of the Lares and Penates of celibate learning. Plays were written and acted, sonnets dedicated and admired, satires laughed over and avenged; fashions in dress and manners came in and went out, gallants kept assignations at nightfall, and swordsmen brushed the morning's dew from the meadows of Thames and Cherwell. To be as different as possible from the ascetics and hypocrites, with whom they had at last come to death-grips, seemed more than ever the duty of a Court which had been, from the days of Queen Elizabeth, the centre of corruption and good taste.

In 1646 Charles submitted to the Scots, and the first Civil War was at an end. There was nothing for the University to do but to make terms with Fairfax, who raised the siege and guaranteed the preservation of ancient privileges 'subordinate, however, to the immediate authority and power of Parliament.' His first act on entering the city was to provide for the defence of the Bodleian against any too zealous of his Roundheads. By such an act he symbolised his veneration for learning.

Cambridge was not so continuously occupied by troops as Oxford, but nevertheless student entries almost ceased.[1] The Colleges sent plate to the value of between £8,000 and £10,000 to the King in July 1642, but it was seized by Cromwell, who thought it necessary to control the town throughout the war and to levy compulsory contributions from societies so manifestly able to help the enemy. Many troops were quartered in and around the town, 'the colleges were beset and broken open, and guards thrust into them, sometimes at midnight whilst the scholars were asleep in their beds.' Three of the Heads were taken to London and imprisoned. 'Colleges were converted into barracks or prisons, the dinners swept off the hall tables, and prized collections of coins carried off for sale at their metallic value.' The Prayer Book in St. Mary's was torn to pieces, and in 1644 Manchester came to enforce the Covenant. It meant a clearance of the University. Queens' College was left without a single member. In Cambridge, Puritanism was supreme.

Trinity had done its best to help Charles, until, in 1644, Thomas Comber, who had to do with the supply of plate, was expelled from the town, and with him eight other Fellows. In 1648, when Thomas Hill, a bitter Calvinist, was Master, an entry was made in the College accounts, 'Att ye takeing up and telling of ye hid money.' This shows that Comber's forethought in hiding the money did not succeed in preserving it for the Restoration. The glee of the Puritan at this discovery of Royalist treasure may easily be imagined. It must have been the fear of sudden events which occasioned the decision of the College to pay a quarterly dividend to the Fellows. If payment were held over to the half-year their successors might receive it, while they themselves might be reduced to writing pamphlets or conspiring in their turn against the new order.

Willing as Cromwell and the Independents generally

[1] Trinity College only admitted thirteen students in 1642–3. In 1645–6 it admitted ninety-five.

were to offer religious toleration, the Presbyterian Parliament would have none of it, for the Universities must be made a stronghold of Puritan doctrine. In 1647 the Visitors 'for the better regulation and reformation of affairs in Oxford' were appointed, including William Prynne among their number. They gave notice that they would meet the Vice-Chancellor and Convocation in the Convocation House on June 4, between the hours of 9 and 11. One of the Visitors, however, occupied them previously with so long a sermon at St. Mary's that they approached Convocation just as the members were filing out. 'Room for Mr. Vice-Chancellor!' cried the Bedell. 'Good-morrow, gentlemen!' said Samuel Fell, who was then Vice-Chancellor, 'tis past eleven o'clock'; and the Visitors had to stand aside. It was months before Parliament renewed their powers; but then they worked with a will. Fell, the Proctors, and all others who stood out were ejected. 'Do you submit to the authority of Parliament in this Visitation?' was the question put to Heads of Houses, Fellows, Graduates and Undergraduates, until only zealous Puritans or indifferent men remained. Cambridge, on the other hand, had already experienced ejections, and was much more amenable to the new order of things. Both were ultimately placed under the rule of Commissions, which held visitation after visitation. Every Head and Fellow either accepted the Parliamentary settlement under compulsion or offered passive resistance until sentence of deprivation of his office was passed upon him. Out of one hundred and five on the foundation of Christ Church, seventy were sent about their business. The Dean, Dr. Samuel Fell, was imprisoned and died of grief at the execution of Charles. His wife—Heads of Houses had special dispensations to marry—was of valiant spirit, and refused to leave the Deanery; after much trouble she was fixed in a chair and deposited in the middle of the quadrangle.

The Puritans, however, set themselves with deliberation to rid the Universities of men who, either as Scholars

or Fellows, did not in all truth devote themselves to learning or piety. A good appearance and a ready wit were more to the liking of the Stuarts. The highest eulogy which Wood could pronounce upon Brian Duppa, who was Dean of Christ Church 1629–1638 and Vice-Chancellor of the University 1632–1633, before becoming Bishop of Chichester, was: 'He was a man of excellent parts, and every way qualified for his function, especially as to the comeliness of his person and gracefulness of his deportment, which rendered him worthy the service of a court and every way fit to stand before princes.'

John Owen, who became Dean of Christ Church in 1651 and was ejected in 1660, laboured hard and well. Since he referred in his inaugural address 'to the sobs of our almost dying Mother—the University,' there can be no doubt that he undertook his task in serious mood. The distinguished philosopher John Locke was elected a student in 1652.

All this time Cambridge was much more tranquil and serene. Clarendon probably had it also in mind when he wrote of Oxford that the Puritan rule 'yielded a harvest of extraordinary good and sound knowledge in all parts of learning and many who were wickedly introduced applied themselves to the study of good learning, and the practice of virtue; so that when it pleased God to bring King Charles the Second back to his throne he found that University abounding in excellent learning, devoted to duty and obedience, and little inferior to what it was before its desolation.'

The return of Charles did not disturb the deeps of University life so greatly as the deposition and death of his father. Of course, always there were hypocrites, watching the turn of the wheel; but apart from them there were many who, though not violently Royalist, accepted the Commonwealth with secret distaste, and by the time of the Restoration had no slight readiness to doff the sober garb of the Roundhead and don the gay feathers of the Cavalier. Moreover, the places of scholarship will never be without men who, in their

absorption in the only tasks that matter to them, have lost such political interest as they ever possessed. Come Cromwell, go Charles, what matter? *Sic transit gloria mundi;* but the truth—*Magna veritas praevalebit.* These men, however, as is the manner of their kind, failed to express their views in public. Not so Dr. Wallis, who, being a Whig as well as a mathematician, came into the office of Savilian Professor of Geometry with the Commonwealth, and continued to occupy it until the reign of Anne. 'It had been my lot,' he said, 'to live in a time wherein have been many and great changes and alterations. It hath been my endeavour all along to act by moderate principles, between the extremities on either hand, in a moderate compliance with the powers in being, in those places where it hath been my lot to live, without the fierce and violent animosities usual in such cases against all that did not act just as I did, knowing that there were many worthy persons engaged on either side; and willing, whatever side was upmost, to promote, as I was able, any good design for the true interest of religion, of learning, and the public good; and ready so to do good offices as there was opportunity, and, if things could not be just as I could wish, to make the best of what is.'

One of the men who came into conflict with Dr. Wallis was the philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), who had been a student at Magdalen Hall, but 'learned as little at Oxford as most of his contemporaries.' Hobbes always boasted that he could think because he did not waste his powers in reading, and he was by no means unready to express his opinions. While in Paris with the exiled Court, he sent anonymous answers to Descartes' theories. In his 'Leviathan' (1651) he defended the absolute power of the State, while basing it upon an original compact. At the same time, Hobbes, with his own bare Erastianism, poured scorn upon the religious opinions of all parties, showing that Scripture might be quoted to uphold any proposition. This provoked universal attack. Oxford

men were not behind-hand, for the intrepid writer had not spared the Universities. He said of them:

> And for the study of Philosophy it hath no otherwise place, then as a handmaid to the Roman Religion: And since the Authority of Aristotle is only current there, that study is not properly Philosophy (the nature whereof dependeth not on Authors) but Aristotelity. And for Geometry, till of very late times it had no place at all; as being subservient to nothing but rigide Truth. And if any man by the ingenuity of his owne nature, had attained to any degree of perfection therein, hee was commonly thought a Magician, and his Art Diabolicall.

Seth Ward, Savilian Professor, took up the challenge, while in 1655 Wallis opened an unremitting pamphlet war, in his attack on Hobbes's mathematical work. Later the theories of 'Leviathan' provoked the criticisms in the 'Patriarcha' of Robert Filmer (*d.* 1653) of Trinity College, Cambridge, and in the 'Oceana' of James Harrington (1611–1677) of Trinity College, Oxford. The hatred against Hobbes was bitter. He was 'above all a rationalist.' 'To a far greater degree than Bacon,' writes G. P. Gooch, 'he was the author of the atmospheric change which substituted the secular for the theological standpoint throughout the boundless realms of thought and speculation.'

The political and religious controversy and the zest for inquiry seem to have provoked an altogether unprecedented interest in both local and national history, which is best expressed by the group of Oxford antiquaries. It was the work of William Dugdale (1605–1686)—who, although not an Oxford student, was given a degree by the University in 1642, and whose 'Monasticon' and 'Antiquities of Warwickshire' were produced at this time—which inspired Anthony Wood (1632–1695) to make similar records for Oxford. The great source of Wood's information was the Collections of Brian Twynne (1579?–1644) of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, the 'earliest and most indefatigable of Oxford antiquaries.' Wood, who is remembered as a

man of notoriously peevish temper, was a member of Merton. He began seeking his materials just before the Restoration, and from 1660 worked on in his garret in a house opposite Merton, living a hermit's life. The portion concerning the City was given to the Ashmolean Library, while Dr. John Fell had the history of the University published by the University Press in 1674.

Even William Prynne himself contributed to the historical work in the quiet years following the Restoration, for Charles II rewarded him for his opposition to their mutual enemies, the Independents, by appointing him Keeper of the Records in the Tower. Here Prynne spent his vacations.

The monumental history of the time, of course, is that of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1609–1674), who had been a member of Magdalen Hall. The book itself was written during his exiles from 1646 to 1660, and again after 1667. In spite of the defects of the work, Clarendon showed the understanding and impartial spirit of the historian. He would not show 'any untruth nor partiality towards persons or sides,' he said, and to him nothing 'could enable a man to write a history, if there be an absense of that genius and spirit and soul of an historian.' Oxford University can be grateful to Clarendon also for his insistent desire for discipline there during his Chancellorship from 1660 to 1667, in which he was backed by Dr. John Fell (1625–1686), Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford.

John Fell's work in Oxford has connected his name for all time with the history of the University Press. Laud had secured a Royal charter (1636), authorising the University to print 'all manner of books'; but little could be done during the Commonwealth. In 1669, on Fell's suggestion, Archbishop Sheldon employed Wren to erect the spacious Sheldonian Theatre [1]

[1] The Sheldonian is now the chief official meeting-place of the University. It corresponds to the Senate House at Cambridge. Before the erection of the Sheldonian the official meetings were held at St. Mary's Church.

The Sheldonian Theatre and the Old Ashmolean,
from the Divinity Schools, Oxford

as a printing-house. Immediately much pioneer work was undertaken, especially in Oriental languages and in history, and long series of books were issued, imprinted *Oxoniae e Theatro Sheldoniano*, or *Oxford at the Theatre*. On Clarendon's death, the copyright of his 'History' was bequeathed to the University (the copyright was confirmed by the Copyright Act, 1911) and the profits from the sale of this book were sufficient to build a new printing-house, the Clarendon Building, early in the eighteenth century. Although the Press was removed again, about one hundred years later, the Delegates' Room in the Clarendon Building is retained for the official meetings of the Delegates of the Press.

Dr. John Fell became Dean of Christ Church at the Restoration. It may be hoped that his mother was with him, and still vigorous. He was subservient to the Crown as few men have been. The undergraduates were summoned by him to take up arms against Monmouth in 1685.[1] In the previous year, at the behest of Charles II, he procured the removal of John Locke both from his studentship and from Oxford for supposed disloyalty.[2] Thus the University obeyed Royalty's whim, and because of the trumped-up political charge made in an age of suspicion disowned the 'unquestioned founder of the analytical philosophy of the mind.' For this alone Fell deserves to be remembered, as he always will be, by the malignant epigram :

> I do not like thee, Dr. Fell,
> The reason why, I cannot tell;
> But only this I know, full rarely well,
> I do not like thee, Dr. Fell.

Yet his work at Christ Church and in the University was characterised by ability, energy, and devotion.

[1] The Duke of Monmouth, illegitimate son of Charles II, returned to England on the death of his father and, landing at Lyme, led a rising in the West against James II (1685). The rebellion was soon crushed and Monmouth executed.

[2] The copy of the instruction can be seen in Christ Church Library.

Probably he had no sense of humour. He 'earnestly applied himself to purge Christ Church of all remains of hypocrisy and nonsense.' Wood says of him that he 'wasted his spirits by too much zeal,' but though he was a fussy little man he was much else besides. He employed Wren to build Tom Tower, placed in it the great bell of Osney, ordered that it should be rung one hundred and one times[1] every night of the year to call the students home, and so it still booms and will boom so long as Oxford has a spark of sentiment left. Fell's father, Samuel, who has already been mentioned, had set him a great example as a builder. The remarkable fan tracery in the beautiful approach to the Hall was constructed, long after the period of such work, whilst he was Dean (1638–1649). But the son was not only a builder, Dean, and Bishop, he was a printer also. Every year he produced a classic and gave a copy to each member of his College. The beautiful type he designed and used was rediscovered, dusty and neglected, two hundred years later in the old Clarendon Building, and brought to the notice of Henry Daniell, Provost of Worcester (died 1920) who, printer likewise, set to work on the lovely productions of the 'Daniel Press.'[2]

The Protectorate, in spite of its conscientious reforming zeal, exhausted the Universities by the atmosphere of suspicion and inquisition which it involved. The Restoration led to no revival of University spirit: the Stuarts on their return brought no feeling of security with them and the Oxford Heads and Fellows still felt that they might be turned out at any time to make way for a Parliament held and housed in the Colleges. The Whigs would not send their sons to Oxford 'for fear of their being Tories'; Popery was suspected of being

[1] The number of students of King Henry VIII's foundation, with one additional added by the Thurston bequest in 1663.

[2] The *Garland of Rachel* was the earliest adequate production of the Daniel Press; others were *Prometheus the Fire Bringer*, and the works of Robert Bridges, Poet Laureate. The last work was a book of *Worcester College Prayers*, which is to remain in the chapel always and exclusively.

secretly at home there. At Cambridge, according to Pepys, 'the same old dons who had swallowed covenant and engagement' were 'dozing in the sunlight of restored Royalism.'

It was, however, the time of the Cambridge Platonists, to whom, according to Gilbert Burnet, who visited Cambridge in 1663, the Church of England was indebted for not having 'quite lost her esteem over the nation.' Their main object was to fight the materialism of writers like Hobbes, 'that father of atheists,' as Sir Edward Nicholas called him, and to take a definite stand against the growing indifference to religion. For this, they turned to the theories of Descartes and the philosophy of Plato and Plotinus. Henry More, one of their number, recommended students in the Universities to read Descartes that they might know the limits of 'the mechanical powers of matter.' These 'latitude men' were equally removed from High Churchman and Calvinist; they desired to reconcile religion with rational truth and to emphasise its moral as against its doctrinal aspect. Of them all, Benjamin Whichcote (1609–1683) alone, Provost of King's, was driven out at the Restoration. But a new line of thought had come into Cambridge and was developed by Henry More (1614–1687), a retiring student, and Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688), the busy Master of Christ's College, and John Smith (1618–1652) of Emmanuel and Queens', whose scholarly discourses were a mingling of Christian doctrine and the ideas of Plato, and who warned his hearers against Aristotle, as a defamer of 'the sacred monuments of ancient metaphysical theology.' In these men the intellectual and spiritual struggles of the century find their completion. For them there could be no contest between religious systems. 'It is better for us that there should be Difference of Judgment, if we keep Charity; but it is unmanly to quarrel because we differ,' wrote Whichcote, and Smith said further on the same subject: 'Divine Truth is better understood as it unfolds itself in the purity of men's hearts and lives, than

in all those subtil niceties into which curious wits may lay it forth. And therefore our Saviour, who is the Great Master of it, would not, while He was here on earth, draw it up into any System or Body, nor would His disciples after Him.' 'He had little or no sense of the historic growth of the Church,' wrote Bishop Westcott of Whichcote. 'His teaching on the Sacraments is vague and infrequent.'[1] The Cambridge Platonists could not find religion in church or creed. It was simply the realisation of a man's nature in its ideal perfection, through his reason. 'No man can overcome his bodily temper but by great wisdom,' wrote Whichcote. 'Yet this is attainable. For if Reason were (as it ought to be) the settled Law of life and action, it would then be easy; for Reason is regular, uniform, and always self-consistent.' And again: 'By Mind, and Understanding, and Will, he hath intercourse and communion with God, and things invisible.' Whichcote and his followers insisted that a man must seek God within himself. 'But Religion is the Introduction of the Divine Life into the Soul of Man,' we find in one of Whichcote's works, and in another: 'The Seat of Religion is the inward Man'; while Smith expresses the same view in all his writings: 'To seek our Divinity meerly in Books and Writings is *to seek the living among the dead:* we doe but in vain seek God many times in these, where his Truth too often is not so much *enshrin'd*, as *entomb'd:* no: *intra te quaere Deum*, seek for God within thine own soul.'

The practical effect of Whichcote's life and teaching showed itself clearly in the Cambridge of his time. Salter says that his aim was 'to preserve a spirit of sober piety and rational religion in the University and town of Cambridge in opposition to the fanatic enthusiasm and senseless canting then in vogue,' and 'in those wild and unsettled times he contributed more to the forming of the students of that University to a sober sense of religion than any man in that age.' Burnet writes of Whichcote along the same lines, in his 'History.'

[1] Westcott, *Religious Thought in the West.*

'Whichcote was a man of rare temper, very mild and obliging,' he says. 'He was much for liberty of conscience, and, being disgusted with the dry systematical way of those times, he studied to raise those who conversed with him to a nobler set of thoughts, and to consider Religion as a seed of Deiform nature (to use one of his own phrases).' In the lives of such men as these, the bitter animosity of High Churchman and Calvinist is at an end; materialism, indifferentism and vice are opposed by deep Christian piety in union with sound learning, and the way is made plain both to the rational view of theology shown by Locke and to the sincere devotion and self-sacrifice of great scholars and high-principled men of the type of Law, who are hidden beneath the vice and superficial luxury of the eighteenth century.

In spite of such elegant customs as compelling the requirement that candidates should keep open hospitality at a tavern for four days of the so-called examination, Trinity had two Masters in succession who stood for the best in English mathematical and theological scholarship, Dr. John Pearson from 1662 to 1670 and Dr. Isaac Barrow from 1670 to 1677. It was at least in part due to Barrow that Newton emerged out of this unlikely time. He and his successors redeemed the reputation of Cambridge. It became as the result of their genius and efforts the very home of mathematical science, in the development of which Cambridge realised its most characteristic type of excellence and is still being enabled day by day to penetrate into the undiscovered deeps of physical phenomena.

Newton entered Trinity as a sub-Sizar in 1661 at the age of nineteen, having had the advantage of a grammar school education at Grantham. He returned as Fellow in 1667 after an absence enforced by the plague. Whilst away from Cambridge he worked out the great discoveries which he developed on his return. The acoustics of Neville's Court (built by Dr. Thomas Neville, Master, 1593–1615), in which there is a marked echo, are said to have helped him. Newton's rooms were by the Great

Gate on the first floor to the north, and for a time they must have been the centre of England's scientific thought. In them he wrote the 'Principia,' and made the experiments associated with the glass prism which he bought at Stourbridge Fair.[1]

> Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night;
> God said 'Let Newton be!' and all was light.

In the ante-chapel close by his rooms is the famous statue which Wordsworth could see from St. John's. He often thought in the night hours

> Of Newton with his prism and silent face,
> The marble index of a mind for ever
> Voyaging through strange seas of thought alone.

Newton was of hospitable nature, and John Locke, Richard Bentley, Edmund Halley, and Gilbert Burnet were often with him. They knew, however, that sometimes he could forget them completely, as on one occasion when he went out to get wine for his friends and settled down instead to work out a problem.

Newton lived at Trinity through all the troublesome years of the Revolution. He was less disturbed there than he would have been at any College in Oxford. Even in 1681 Charles called a Parliament at Oxford. So Court once again jostled College. As for Whig malcontents, they found harbourage in Balliol.

In spite of the work of individuals or isolated groups, academic life as a whole long showed the stagnation which resulted from interference by Church and State, culminating at the time of the Civil War. Neither University aroused enthusiasm among any section of the people. The history of Gloucester Hall, Oxford (the only College which received any considerable endowment between the

[1] This fair looms large in the history of Cambridge, which had certain rights in it. It was the greatest of all mediaeval English fairs. Merchants came from all parts; and farm bailiffs to buy and sell. Even the manciples of Oxford Colleges came to buy winter provisions.

foundations of Pembroke, Oxford, in 1624, and Downing, Cambridge, in 1800), illustrates both the ambitious activity of individuals and the indifference of society. Consequent upon the Restoration, visits of members of the Orthodox Church became frequent. A Greek church was erected in Soho, on the site where St. Mary the Virgin now stands, and as early as 1677 Anthony Wood writes : ' At that time there was a great talk of converting Gloucester Hall into a College for the educating twenty or thirty Greeks on Academical learning and to send them home, but these only wanted pelf.' Later Joseph, Metropolitan of Samos, asked the Archbishop of Canterbury if twelve Greeks might go to Oxford, and Dr. Woodroff of Christ Church, seeing that Gloucester Hall had but fourteen students, secured the building for them. The failure of the experiment is described in Edward Stephen's pamphlets :

In *Octob.* 1698, divers young Men from *Smyrna*, and others from *Constantinople* and other places, were invited over by our Agents and Merchants by Orders from hence, and more especially by Dr. *Woodroffe*, by Letters to the Patriarchs, to come and study at *Oxford*, by such *Promises* of all necessary Accomodations, Assistance in Studies, and to be sent home when their Studies should be finish'd, without any Trouble or Charge to their Parents or Friends, as easily prevailed with them to leave their Parents, Friends and Country too, for the Improvement of their Studies here. . . . But at *Oxford*, tho they who came first were well enough order'd for some time, yet afterwards they, and those who came after them, were so ill accomodated, both for their Studies and other Necessaries, that some of them staid not many Months, and others would have been gone, if they had known how : and there is now but one left there, two being come lately thence to *London* : So that this good Work, which had rais'd great Expectations among the *Greeks*, no little Jealousy among our Adversaries aforesaid, and perhaps a pious Emulation in our Friends at *Hall*, is now like to prove an occasion of Indignation of the *Greeks*, the Grief of our Friends, the Derision of our Adversaries, and the Shame of the Church and Nation, unless there appear amongst us some sincere devout Christians and Lovers of their Country.

In 1705 the Church of Constantinople condemned

the project. ' The irregular life of certain priests and laymen of the Eastern Church living in London, is a matter of great concern to the Church. Wherefore, the Church forbids any to go and study at Oxford, be they ever so willing,' ran the official letter to England. Subsequent intercourse is recorded between both Universities and the East. Meanwhile, Dr. Woodroff had other plans for Gloucester Hall. Hearing that Sir Thomas Cooke of Worcester thought of making an endowment in Oxford, he drew up schemes for the foundation of Worcester College on the site of the old Hall. In spite of ceaseless effort, he was never able to secure the money from Sir Thomas, who wavered between Gloucester Hall, Balliol College, and Worcestershire Workhouses, and ultimately made the Bishops of Oxford and Worcester and the Vice-Chancellor of the University his trustees for the grant. These, too, were unmoved by Woodroff, but on his death in 1711 Richard Blechynden, the new Provost, who was ' good for nothing but drinking and keeping jolly company,' met with warm welcome, and in 1714 Worcester College was founded with the legacy of Sir Thomas Cooke. This, however, took place years after the ' glorious Revolution ' of 1689.

James II had had little influence in Cambridge, the Puritan and Whig University. What he had, he destroyed, especially by his action in trying by royal mandate to force the admission of a Benedictine monk, Alban Francis, to the degree of M.A. without the customary oaths. When this was resisted he employed Judge Jeffreys to browbeat the Vice-Chancellor and to deprive him of his office. At Oxford, which, if Tory, was Anglican, he was equally ill-advised. The Fellows of Magdalen were evicted, legally or illegally, and the College was turned for a short space into a Roman Catholic seminary under Bonaventure Giffard, because its members refused to elect Anthony Farmer to be their President on the King's bidding. Farmer was a disorderly, quarrelsome, and dissolute man who had joined

the Roman Catholic communion. This unworthy instrument of the King did not possess the statutory qualifications. Far from being, as the Statute demanded, an approved Fellow of New College or Magdalen, he had been expelled from Trinity, Cambridge, and from Magdalen Hall, Oxford. It would appear that Magdalen College itself must have needed students badly in those days, if it took in the rejected of other colleges. Even Jeffreys could not on this occasion help the King to the triumph he desired. Too late he restored to Magdalen the evicted Fellows [1] and John Hough, the President of their own choice; William and Mary were already on their way to England when Magdalen was once more ruled by Magdalen men, in accordance with the Statutes of its Foundation.

Both Universities then passed into a century of political intrigue and selfish indulgence. It may have been that the Colleges were the homes of such wit as there was—sharp and satirical as well as coarse and crude. The poor Servitor or Sizar worked his way to be a Don or even a College Head; but even though he did not always fail to be a scholar, yet he generally succeeded in being after his parts and opportunities a man of the world—and what a world!

For the rest, with Dons above, and Servitors or Sizars below, lived the gentlemen, learning little and spending much, during their two years at the University centres of fashion, and regarding their Colleges, if they thought about them at all, as a stage upon which they might strut, drink and gamble before entering fully into the larger society of the *beau monde*.

But it will be our purpose to draw attention to the quiet work of scholarship and the movements of the democratic spirit which still continued, despite the general atmosphere surrounding them, throughout the long years of this dark century in University history.

[1] October 25, 1688, is commemorated in the College as 'Restoration Day.' William III landed at Brixham on November 5, 1688.

CHAPTER VI

CAMBRIDGE OF THE 'WHIGS,' OXFORD OF THE 'TORIES'

To characterise Oxford as 'Tory'[1] and Cambridge as 'Whig'[2] is to indulge in the boldest as well as the most trite of generalisations. Like all other statements of its kind, it must be received with caution, for it is both true and untrue. On the whole, and with reservations, the statement is confirmed by the history of the Universities in the eighteenth century, even though the opposite point of view could be supported by reasonable arguments. If one University develops a characteristic at any time, the tendency of the other is to provide a complement to it when it does not put itself into sheer opposition. In like manner, although in lesser degree, the various Colleges in each University, by their rivalries, or, may it be said, in their strivings to fulfil the purposes of their foundation, tend to balance one another, and not infrequently one College may even be found running counter to all the rest.

So it was in the case of the 'High Church' College of St. John at Cambridge. There were found within it twenty-eight Fellows who maintained the 'Divine Right' of James II even to the point of losing their benefices, and this in a University which rejoiced at the accession of William and Mary, and for 'the deliverance of the nation' from Popery and arbitrary power' 'the bells rang all the afternoon and at night there were bonfires.'

[1] 'Tory' is taken to mean those who preferred the House of Stuart, maintained the Divine Right of Kings, and inclined to High Church principles.

[2] 'Whig' is taken to mean those who held moderate views on Kingship, supported the Houses of Orange and 'Hanover,' and had tendencies towards Low Church, Dissent and Free Thought.

But the startling feature in the records of 'Non-Juror'[1] Fellows is that only fourteen could be found in the whole of Oxford, as against forty-two in Cambridge. It would seem, if paradoxical situations were not common in the Universities, that the figures had been manipulated to suit an argument, but they do give occasion to wonder whether after all at this time the Oxford Dons had not adapted their philosophy to their needs, and, as contemporary critics alleged, had found a *via media* between their oaths and their opinions.

The oaths taken by Fellows at the end of the Revolution were

> Allegiance to the Sovereign.
> The King or Queen's Supremacy.
> Against Transubstantiation, Invocation and Adoration of the Blessed Virgin Mary or any other Saint, and the Romish doctrine of the Mass.

The chief critic of Oxford's disloyalty to William and Mary, or more notably to George I, is Nicholas Amherst (1697–1742) who 'was elected from a publick school (Merchant Taylors) in London to a certain College in Oxford (St. John's), of which, according to the foundation of it, after a probation of three years' he 'was to be admitted actual fellow.' But, so he alleges, because 'with all their united logick and lungs' the large company of the College could not make him believe 'that there was no harm in swearing to a king whom they thought an usurper, nor in abjuring, in the most solemn terms, a person who, in their opinion, was possessed of all the right that God could invest him with,' he was selected to be 'the only person for these many years who has forfeited his fellowship for malbehaviour.'

After his expulsion he settled in London, and commenced the publication of a bi-weekly news sheet, which

[1] The Non-Jurors were such Tories as could not take the Oath of Allegiance to Kings of the new dynasty. Non-juring clergy were ejected from their livings; they carried on their work in an independent branch of the Church.

he entitled *Terrae-Filius*.[1] This sheet was well circulated in the coffee-houses from January to June 1721 and was published in two volumes in 1726 'under Tom's Coffee House in Russell Street, Covent Garden.'

The circumstances in which this book was written, as well as the well-known character of the author as a political adventurer, have tended to discredit its statements as well as its satire, but it gives a picture of conduct and affairs which contemporary evidence appears to justify. Moreover, it is distinguished by such acumen, and by such an intellectual conception of what an eighteenth-century University should be, that it is a document of peculiar importance in the history of Oxford. Amherst's own College, St. John's, naturally comes in for severe criticism. In Sheet 49 he enumerates the benefactions made to the College since its foundation, prefixing the list with the last letter of the pious founder, Sir Thomas White,[2] in order to throw into greater relief the mal-administration of the College

[1] The *Terrae-Filius*, a quasi-statutable officer of the University, really a licensed jester, 'claimed a right as established by the ancient forms of the University,' probably only dating from the Reformation, to deal at every Act (equivalent of Commencement at Cambridge) with the public and private character of those drest in authority, until at length the offensiveness of their effusions became so marked, or the power of the Hebdomadal Council so great, as to cause the discontinuance of the office. This was probably in 1713. In 1733, however, a speech was prepared by a *Terrae-Filius* and suppressed. There is a copy in the Bodleian. Its language and allusions are characterised by the plain speaking of the eighteenth century, e.g. 'Jesus College is verminous and smells of toasted cheese. The Oriel men are all in debt.' But worse about other Colleges. In 1669 Evelyn complains that 'twas rather licentious, lyeing and railing than genuine and noble wit.' In 1763 a revived *Terrae-Filius* appeared as the last of his line. At Cambridge Commencement the Varier or Prevaricator performed much the same office as *Terrae-Filius* at Oxford—whilst in the exercise for every Bachelor's degree provision was made for the Tripos Jester, or 'Bachilour of the Stoole.'

[2] '*To Mr.* President, *the* Fellows *and* Scholars *of St.* John Baptist *College, in* Oxon.

'*Mr.* Preſident, *with the* Fellows *and* Scholars,

'I Have me recommended unto you, even from the very bottom of my heart, deſiring the *Holy Ghoſt* may reſt upon you, until the end of the world; and deſiring Almighty God, that every one of

revenues. 'I leave it to the consideration of every member of that college whether they are all still distributed in the manner directed by the respective benefactors.'

In other places he shows how the poverty clauses for Fellows and Scholars were evaded, or ignored, and how a Fellow who was allowed by Statute a year of grace before finally settling into a benefice would take its emoluments for a year and then pass it on to another Fellow, and so on until the whole body had received a year's revenue from it.

But it was an age of politics, and his final Sheet is reserved for an account of the rise, progress, and dissolution of the Constitution Club.[1] 'During the latter part of the queen's reign (Anne) the Whigs and Tories in Oxford conversed indifferently and peaceably together.' 'The Tories were delighted and satisfied in enjoying what they wanted; and the Whigs were not uneasy in wanting what they ought to have enjoyed.' But no sooner had George I begun to make a 'wise and

you may *love one another as brethren*; and I ſhall deſire you to *apply your learning*, and ſo doing, God ſhall give you his bleſſing, both in this world, and in the world to come. And furthermore, if any *ſtrife* or *variance* do ariſe among you, I ſhall deſire you, for God's love, to pacify it, as much as you may; and that doing, I put no doubt but *God ſhall bleſs every one of you.* And this ſhall be the laſt letter that ever I write unto you, and therefore I ſhall deſire every one of you to take a copy of it for my ſake. No more to you at this time, but the Lord have you in his keeping, until the end of the World. Written the ſeven and twentieth day of *January*, One thouſand five hundred ſixty and ſix. I deſire you all to pray to God for me, that I may end my life with Patience, and he may take me to his mercies.

'*Obiit Anno Salutis* 1566.
ætat. suæ 72. Elizabethæ
regni octavo, & undecimo
die Februarii

'*By me Sir* Tho. White, *Knt.* Alderman *of* London, *and* Founder *of St.* John Bapt. *Coll. in* Oxon.'

[1] The Constitution Club was open to all of graduate standing who were well affected to the Government. It began among some members of New College, and was patronised by Dr. Gardiner of All Souls; it soon became a centre of union for 'poor persecuted Whigs.'

necessary change amongst his ministers' than trouble began. 'If ever the Whigs, the now envied and hated Whigs, "stirred" out of their Colleges, it was not without danger and hazard of their lives. In the streets and all publick places they were sure of being mobb'd and insulted by whole crowds of the gown'd and ungown'd rabble.'

This feud came to a head in the riot of May 28, 1715. On King George's first birthday after his accession, the Constitution Club resolved to have a fitting celebration. They met as arranged at a tavern, but fled upon the first assault of the Tory mob and escaped to their Colleges through the back door. The next day Oriel, which sheltered some members of the club, was attacked, but 'one of the gentlemen of the College fired upon the mob from his window, and wounded a gownsman of Brazen-Nose. The mob under the terror of this dangerous and unexpected resistance retreated from Oriel, and contented themselves for the rest of the night with breaking of windows, ransacking the houses of dissenters, pulling down and setting fire to their meeting houses, and doing the most extravagant mischief that so ingenious and learned a mob could contrive.'

The next day the Heads of Houses, or 'Sculls,' as they were commonly called, met in 'Golgotha,' a room in the old Clarendon, and proceeded to indict the members of the Constitution Club as 'rioters.' These, however, had their own way of access to King George, who, naturally enough, was not well pleased, and sent 'rattling letters' to the Vice-Chancellor. Ultimately the Constitutionalists were, after a year, found guilty of being in a tavern (an offence against the Statutes) on May 28, but were acquitted of the riot.

The disturbances at Cambridge on the same occasion were slight. Those Tories or Jacobites who demonstrated by breaking windows were treated as though this action had no reference to politics. But such a mild attitude on the part of the Vice-Chancellor aroused animosities which were not calmed until an undoubted

Whig, Daniel Waterland, Master of Magdalene from 1713 to 1740, exerted his influence, some years later, to re-establish peace in the University.

In the first part of the eighteenth century everything at the University that was sensitive to politics took on a political hue and tone ; this was the inevitable legacy of the Commonwealth, the Restoration, and the Revolution. Nevertheless then, as always, the real student found a place there, remote from and untroubled by the main stream of University life. Newton, for example, was at work at Cambridge, and Oxford nourished the Wesleys. Newton certainly did make incursions into politics, but without arousing excitement, since he merely represented Cambridge in Parliament on two occasions (1689 and 1701–2) in the dominant Whig interest. Both John and Charles Wesley, and Samuel Wesley the elder, kept their minds on the politics of the 'City of God.'

In retracing our steps to take up the story anew, it becomes increasingly plain that Cambridge did all it could at this time to ingratiate herself with the new order, while Oxford, except in times of stress, took refuge in its philosophical retreats. Moreover, the capricious James, by his attempt to override University rights, actually induced Oxford Tories to set out with Cambridge Whigs to welcome William immediately after his landing. But this warmth of feeling had cooled somewhat when he paid Oxford a visit with Queen Mary in 1695. A king who did not take off his hat in church could not hope to be popular in Oxford. He only stayed one hour. After all, Universities did not interest him much, although he desired at one time to make a 'Royal visitation,' but was discouraged by the legal advisers of the Crown.

Cambridge was always ready with addresses to the Crown, and her addresses seem to have surpassed those of Oxford both in felicity of expression and in frequency of presentation. Between 1701 and 1800 Cambridge presented over fifty such addresses, sometimes accompanied

by verses of congratulation, at the Court of St. James's. Births, marriages, returns from abroad, nothing apparently was too unimportant for recognition.

In 1702, the year of her accession, Anne was welcomed warmly at Oxford. As the daughter of James II and Queen in her own right, not sharing her royal title with a king of foreign race, she was not objectionable to the Tories who longed for the old succession. It may have been also that she felt herself more in accord with the Oxford spirit than William and Mary had been. In any case, her tact triumphed, and three years later she visited Cambridge, which had 'but one mind in the matter.' 'The ways were all along strowed with flowers; the bells rung and the conduits run with wine.' Richard Bentley received her at Trinity, where a throne 'five foot high' was erected, and Isaac Newton was knighted. Any criticism of Anne excited the wrath of the Heads. When Dr. Thomas Tudway, organist of King's, Pembroke, and St. Mary's, reflected in a pun upon something Anne had done, the Vice-Chancellor and eight Heads forthwith deprived him of all his offices, which were only returned to him on the solicitation of the Queen herself.

Richard Bentley (1662–1742), Master of Trinity, is easily the most disturbing and exciting personage in the College life of the first half of the century. His career is one illustrative of both the defects and the excellencies of the character of the county of his birth. He is Yorkshire in his theories and Yorkshire in his obstinacy and contempt for opinions other than his own. Of his ability there is, and can be, no doubt. He was a brilliant classicist and the most finished scholar of his time. At the age of twenty-nine he had secured recognition; his Epistle to Mill on Malelas has been described as the 'flowing of an inexhaustible stream of learning'; in his well-known controversy with Boyle of Christ Church on the letters of Phalaris, he smote his opponent hip and thigh—not indeed without Oxford's help—for in 1689 he went to Wadham with his pupil Stillingfleet

and was allowed the use of the Bodleian Library. 'Our friend's learning wants a little filing,' said Pepys, and this is an apt description of his whole character.

Directly he became Master of Trinity in 1700, Bentley proceeded to bring about numerous estimable reforms. In every case he seems to have gone about the matter in a way calculated to offend the susceptibilities of the Senior Fellows. This great man, who was in his real character far-seeing and trustworthy, developed the disease of undue and incessant argument and took up the position that anything he did must of necessity be right and must call for the instant adhesion of people, even those of responsibility, whom he had not before consulted. At the outset he was not wanted. He had been away from the University ; he was of St. John's. It is said that, when complimented on his succession to the Mastership, he replied, referring to the division between the two Colleges and using the words of the Psalmist, 'By the help of my God, I have leaped over the wall.'

Quarrels went on incessantly for forty years between Masters and Fellows. Some say they were entirely responsible for the depression of Trinity College, which in the early seventeenth century had been in the heyday of its fame. Trinity Fellows proceeded to the great offices of the Church as a mere matter of course ; they usually became Heads of the other Cambridge Colleges. Among its members were John Donne and Abraham Cowley. The latter indeed was a Fellow, but with the Master, Dr. Thomas Comber, and all those of Royalist sympathies, he was expelled by the Puritans. The Restoration did not repair the damage, although in Dr. John Pearson and Dr. Isaac Barrow the society found Masters who were among the best characters of Charles II's time. When Bentley became Master the society was certainly tranquil.

The story of his disputations, interesting though it is, is far too long for our consideration. He showed too plainly a disposition to monopolise all power and to appropriate to himself all credit in the College govern-

ment. Some instances may well be brought to notice. The first troubles were about the alterations to the College lodge and, subsequently, the construction of the staircase. The Bursar tried to stop the work, but Bentley said he would send him into the country to 'feed his turkeys.' When the Fellows took action he threatened them; they had forgotten 'his rusty sword,' for from among the College Statutes he was able to revive many which, if put into action, would cause grave inconvenience to them, particularly in regard to attendance at chapel and the holding of a living in conjunction with the office of a College Preachership.

When Bentley became Regius Professor of Divinity, after most clever and skilful intrigue, and was thereby entitled to the tithe of Somersham, great complaint arose, for he filled two outhouses and the spacious granary with tithe wheat and malt which he sold, without allowing any option, to the bakehouse and brewery of the College at the highest ruling prices. Though, it is said, the malt was damaged by the weevil, the brewery had to take it. The College prided itself upon its beer. When at a subsequent festival it was clearly below quality, the butler exonerated himself by saying it was brewed from the Master's malt. To hear the complaints of Fellows is one thing; to be given bad beer to drink is another. Peculiarly enough, it was upon this point that much of the grumbling concerning the Master's administration and character was based.

The Fellows had met with disappointment by the death of the Bishop of Ely when he was on the point of giving sentence in their favour, and the refusal of his successor to undertake the trial unless at the King's order; but their hopes were revived by the opening of a second trial in 1733 and its conclusion in a sentence of deprivation of the Mastership. The resources of Bentley, however, were not at an end. He perceived that if he could induce the Vice-Master to refuse or neglect to obey the injunction he could still remain in his office. This he carried out successfully, and was Master

until his death in 1742. Dr. Monk[1] has proved himself a judicious biographer, and has vindicated Bentley's greatness as a scholar and the power of his intellect, whilst he in no way condones his conduct as Master.

Even after consideration of all that Bentley did in printing editions of numerous classics, no part of his work is more memorable than his appreciation of science. He had the satisfaction of founding in Trinity College a school of natural philosophy of singular eminence which has continued to produce some of the finest scientific personalities of our country in an unbroken succession from that day to the present. Thenceforth Newtonian learning became one great pride of the place in which the mighty genius of its founder had been nurtured and matured, and the same College which gave birth to his discoveries has been made a principal means of introducing the knowledge of them to the community. The great and solid glory of establishing and fostering this school is due to Dr. Bentley ; and it is just to observe that at no period did his enemies, in the height of their animosity, venture to deny or detract from his credit in this particular.

To the ministers of the Hanoverian Kings of England, intellectual rigour and purity of administration in the Universities were of less moment than reform for the purpose of winning their members over to the Government. The subject was much considered and debated in the early part of the reign of George I, but no important steps were taken.

Immediately after the Constitution Club riot, 'the ministry were obliged to send to Oxford a squadron of Horse under Major-General Pepper to seize Colonel Owen and other Jacobite officers who had been turned out of the army.' It had been reported shortly before that 'King James' had landed in Scotland. But Cambridge had expressed its loyalty so convincingly that the grateful King purchased the Library of Bishop

[1] *The Life of Richard Bentley, D.D.*, by James Henry Monk, D.D. In two volumes, 1833. J. G. & F. Rivington.

Moore of Ely for £6,000 and presented it entire to the University. This gave an opportunity to the Oxford wits, Dr. Joseph Trapp [1] and Tom Warton [2] the elder.

> King George observing with judicious eyes
> The state of both his Universities,
> To Oxford sent a troop of horse ; and why ?
> That learned body wanted loyalty.
> To Cambridge books he sent, as well discerning
> How much that loyal body wanted learning.

The retort, probably written much later, was :

> The King to Oxford sent a troop of horse,
> For Tories own no argument but force ;
> With equal skill to Cambridge books he sent,
> For Whigs admit no force but argument.

In fact, it is ascribed to Sir William Brown of Peterhouse (1692–1774), who is said to have improvised the lines in a controversy with Samuel Johnson concerning the merits of the two Universities. In spite of the brevity of his own University career Oxford never had a stauncher son than the lexicographer.

In 1716–1717 the Government, alarmed by the attitude of the scholars, proposed to introduce a bill to regulate both Universities. On April 3, 1717, the House of Lords passed resolutions condemning the University and City of Oxford for practices 'highly disrespectful to his Majesty's royal family and tending to sedition.' All this caused Lord Macclesfield, who was in the King's favour, and who had just been appointed Lord Chancellor, to produce an elaborate scheme of reform in 1718. He propounded three main questions:

(1) By what method learning and industry may be promoted in the Universities, setting aside all party considerations ?

(2) What force may be necessary to ease the present disaffection of Universities ?

(3) What gentle methods may be of service to win them over to the Government ?

[1] First Professor of Poetry at Oxford, 1708–18.
[2] Second Professor of Poetry at Oxford, 1718–28.

The answers he himself gave were detailed, comprehensive, and, needless to say, loyal, but even if they had been completely convincing to the Universities, which no proposals for reform have ever been, Lord Macclesfield fell into disgrace so soon afterwards that, had he persisted in his plan, it would have been of little avail.

The fear of reform from without did not drive out internal dissensions. That is clear in the case of Bentley. Thomas Hearne (1678–1735), a lovable Jacobite and gossiping historical antiquary, who could see little good in the dominant party or in any member of it (small blame to him, for he was second Keeper of the Bodleian in 1712, was deprived as a Non-Juror in 1716, and never afterwards attained office), writing of Oxford in June 1726 deplores the conditions prevailing there, forgetting that no one quarrelled more than he did.

> There are such differences now in the University of Oxford (hardly one College but where all the Members are busied in Law Businesses and Quarrels, not at all relating to the promoting of Learning) that good Letters miserably decay every day, insomuch that this last Ordination, on Trin. Sunday, at Oxford, there were no fewer (as I am inform'd) than fifteen denyed Orders for Insufficiency, w^{ch} is the more to be noted, because our B^{ps}, and those employ'd by them, are themselves generally illiterate Men.

The testimony of John Wesley, who was ordained in 1725, is delightfully different. He was, however, probably well disposed to a body of men who appreciated his merits so much and had just elected him a Fellow of Lincoln. 'I never knew a College besides ours,' writes John Wesley, 'whereof the members were so perfectly satisfied with one another and so inoffensive to the other part of the University. All I have yet seen are both well natured and well bred men admirably disposed as well to preserve peace and good neighbourhood among them-

selves as to promote it wherever else they have any acquaintance.'

Meanwhile, at Cambridge, Daniel Waterland, preaching the Thanksgiving sermon in 1716, warned the University that, 'as divisions increase, Christian Charity will decline daily, till it becomes an empty name or an idea only. Discipline will of course slacken and hang loose; and the consequence of that must be a general dissoluteness and corruption of manners.'

Gradually, as the Hanoverians established themselves, and Tories were admitted into the administration, whilst Culloden (1746) sealed, for ever, the fate of the Stuart aspirations, the Whiggism of Cambridge and the Toryism of Oxford assumed different shape. In effect, they both passed into the Toryism of the nineteenth century, which was above all things loyal to the Crown and to the established constitution. High Church Whiggism and High Church Toryism made up the new Tory party. The term 'High Church' merely connotes in this connection devotion to the Establishment as against the 'enthusiasm' of the Wesleys and Whitefield. The eighteenth-century movements have little or no connection with the Evangelicalism of Simeon or the Tractarianism of Newman.

In the middle of the century hardly a Whig of the old order could be discovered at Cambridge, but Toryism of an aggressive type had too many attractions for certain Oxford minds to allow it to die down easily. Even after Culloden, an Oxford pamphleteer discussed 'whether one may take the oaths to King George and yet, consistently with honour and conscience and the fear of God, may do all one can in favor of the Pretender,' whilst in 1748 two or three young Oxford men were convicted of drinking the Pretender's health. They were the last 'sparks' of the old-time Tories even though Jacobitism smouldered on. It was said of Routh, who, entering Oxford in 1775, only left it on his death in 1854, after ruling Magdalen for over sixty years, that 'in early life' his politics were 'a kind of theo-

retical Jacobitism such as had been cherished very generally by the clergy and country squires of the last century.'

University life in the middle of the century was at its lowest. Porson[1] did not enter Cambridge until thirty-eight years after Bentley's death, and there are few, if any, notable scholars between them. Oxford had its Blackstone (1723–1780), it is true, but not much else besides. In a startling way the level of scholarship at that date is reflected in the number of students, which in the year 1750 had fallen to about five hundred and seventy at Oxford and three hundred and eighty at Cambridge. They were to be found in taverns and coffee-houses, or blazoning themselves to attract the 'fair,' gambling, racing, but seldom playing games. And always the two classes—poor and rich. Whilst they passed the years away either in dissipation and ignorance or in poverty and learning, according to their class, the 'Dons' made a society which killed ennui by amours, port, and intrigue. There is no purpose to be served by recounting the method of life of the old sinners who drank and dozed in the College common rooms. Anyone who, as a 'student of human nature,' wishes to find out these things, or to see what endowment, celibacy, and Orders in the isolation of a University town can lead to in a coarse age, may find sufficient for his needs in Gunning's[2] description of the Trinity Seniority in 1787.

College life, from any point of view, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was conducted on lines unintelligible to the twentieth-century mind.

[1] Richard Porson, one of the finest of Cambridge's classical scholars, 1759–1808, was the son of a Norfolk weaver. His unusual abilities secured him the patronage of many prominent persons, with whose assistance he obtained entrance to Eton and to Trinity College, Cambridge. He was made Fellow of Trinity, but resigned on his decision not to take Orders. His grasp of mathematics was equalled by his powers of literary criticism, his extraordinary memory, and his extensive reading of Greek and Roman Texts, of which he edited a great number with unparalleled success.

[2] *Reminiscences of Cambridge*, by Henry Gunning.

Both the Esquire Bedells, Gunning of Cambridge and Cox of Oxford,[1] make this clear to us. Their pages teem with pictures of proud and ignorant old men, with little dignity apart from wigs, gowns, and clerical bands, often soiled by gluttonous and bibulous habits.[2] Contrast Gunning's picture of the Trinity Seniority with any, however malevolent, which could possibly be painted of any group of Fellows in any college of to-day, and it will be seen that the term 'unintelligible' is mild in the extreme. The student need not regret that Gunning destroyed, at a time of illness and a moment of Christian charity, the most piquant of his notes. Oxford men have never given themselves away so honestly and completely as Cambridge men, but in these respects the evidence is overwhelming, and although Cox lived further into the improving nineteenth century than Gunning and was not so simple a character, the implications of his 'Recollections' are identical. Yet Gunning and Cox do not criticise, they narrate. Neither have they any grudge against *Alma Mater*; rather they are full of gratitude, their only desire being to maintain the privileges of their office and to hand over their staves untarnished.

[1] *Recollections of Oxford*, by G. V. Cox, M.A. Esquire Bedells were M.A.'s elected to attend the Vice-Chancellor on official occasions. Esquire Bedells at Oxford have been superseded by four Bedells representing the faculties of Divinity, Law, Medicine, and Arts. Two Esquire Bedells still hold office at Cambridge.

[2] Extract from Gunning's *Reminiscences of Cambridge*:

'The Rev. James Backhouse, B.D., like most of the Seniority, was considered a man of gallantry; but Cambridge not being the scene of his *amours*, he was not thought so immoral as the rest. I think he had the living of Shudy Camps, in this county, but he lived a good deal at Balsham, where he was supposed to have formed a connexion not of the most reputable kind. He instituted a school for females, in the management of which he was much censured. Porson, who had described the failings of the Seniority in some powerful satirical verses, alluded to this circumstance in the following lines—the only lines in the whole poem I can venture to quote:—

"Was it profit that he sought?
No; he paid them to be taught.
Had he honour for his aim?
No; *he blush'd to find it fame*!"'

The mind of the eighteenth-century professor presents many interesting aspects. It was the approved practice for men of affairs, skilled in intrigue and driven by acquisitiveness, to achieve appointment after appointment, and some simultaneously, for the sole purpose of acquiring a legal title to emoluments. Among such collectors of office none were more successful than the Masters and Fellows of the colleges in Oxford and Cambridge. Portly and bewigged, self-satisfied and vain, the typical member of their order slumbered and feasted, the happier if at one and the same time he could be bishop, college head, professor, and rector all rolled into one. The classic example, because he had surprising vigour and a complacency beyond the common lot of man, was Dr. Watson, who planted trees and blasted rocks on his Westmoreland estate ; all the happier, and therefore perhaps the better, because he was Bishop of Llandaff, Regius Professor of Divinity, and Rector of not a few parishes far away in the less desirable Midlands or South. He is reported, evilly enough perhaps, never to have visited either his parishes or his diocese. To be both Bishop or Dean and Master of a College was normal. Even in the twentieth century, however, to be a residentiary canon of a distant Cathedral and a college tutor is not disapproved, while at least two heads of colleges [1] are compelled to be canons also.

No one has revealed the attitude of the eighteenth-century professor more fully than Richard Watson when he tells of his piety and the cold treatment which he received from an ungrateful Government.[2] He was entirely untroubled by scruples when he held lucrative positions and did little or no work in connection with

[1] The Mastership of Pembroke College, Oxford, is held with the stall and emoluments of a Residentiary Canon in the Cathedral Church of Gloucester. The Mastership of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, is held with the stall and emoluments of a Residentiary Canon in the Cathedral Church of Norwich.

[2] *Anecdotes of the Life of Richard Watson* (1737–1816) ; Scholar of Trinity, 1757; Professor of Chemistry, 1764; Regius Professor of Divinity, 1771 ; Bishop of Llandaff, 1782—and much else besides.

them. The emoluments of an office were in his eyes, and apparently in the eyes of the time, just so much fruit to be gathered by fortunate plunderers from well-planted trees. If he found a tree not sufficiently nourished, he soon remedied the defect. 'There was no stipend annexed to the Professorship of Chemistry,' to which he was appointed in 1764. 'I thought myself justified in applying to the Minister for a stipend from the Crown.' He succeeded, but nevertheless reflects :

> Though an £100 a year given for the encouragement of science is but as a drop in the ocean when compared with the enormous sums lavished in unmerited pensions, lucrative sinecure places and scandalous jobs by every minister on his flatterers and dependants in order to secure his majorities in Parliament, yet I obtained this drop with difficulty. . . . The University is now richer than it was in 1766, and it would become its dignity, I think, to thank the King for his indulgence and to pay in future its unendowed professors without having recourse to the public purse, not that I feel the least reluctance to dipping into the public purse for such a purpose, but I feel something for the independence of the University.

In a naïve way he prides himself on having increased the emoluments of the post of Regius Professor of Divinity, to which he was appointed in 1771. 'Thus did I, by hard and incessant labour for seventeen years, attain at the age of thirty-four the first office for honour in the University, and exclusive of the Mastership of Trinity College I have made it the first for profit. I found the Professorship not worth quite £330 a year and it is now worth £1,000 at the least.'

He clearly was a shrewd man, for no other Chair yielded an income of over £300 until far into the nineteenth century, and many were worth only £40 a year.

In course of time Watson became Bishop of Llandaff. The emoluments of this office (£1,200 a year)—hardly sufficient, he complained, to maintain its state—together with those of the Divinity Chair, the proceeds of a fortune (£26,000) left him by one of his old pupils, and, so it is said, the perquisites of ten other offices, enabled

him to purchase an estate in Windermere,[1] and spend a considerable portion of his active life in establishing his family by improving his land. Occasionally, as he thought it opportune, he presented addresses to the Crown, written by himself and purporting to emanate from the Bishop, Dean, prebendaries, and clergy of a diocese which, it is said, he seldom, if ever, visited. He had worked hard, he was a defender of the Faith, his fame extended to Massachusetts, which recognised him by election to the membership of the Historical Society of the State.[2] But when all is said and done, he merely gathered his spoils, retained his offices, and devoted himself to the pursuits of a country gentleman. None of his family before him had attained much distinction, although he prided himself on being unable to trace 'any hewers of wood or drawers of water' in his ancestry.

Cambridge, to its credit, opposed his retention of the Regius Professorship, but he declined to give it up in default of a better endowed Bishopric, and prided himself on paying his deputy, Dr. Kipling, more than two-thirds of the salary (£250) which existed when he was first appointed to the post. It was this Kipling who is commemorated by Gunning.

Subsequently, when I was keeping an Opponency,[3] Kipling became all at once totally inattentive both to me and the Respondent, and the disputation appeared to be at an end for want of his inter-

[1] Calgarth Park. The story is told that the landlord of 'The Cock,' wishing to be complimentary, altered the name of his inn to 'The Bishop,' and had a portrait of Dr. Watson painted as a sign. A neighbouring innkeeper saw opportunity in this and adopted the name of 'The Cock.' Thus he gained custom. This infuriated the landlord of 'The Bishop Inn' so much that he sought to put matters right by painting out the name of the inn underneath the episcopal features and substituting 'This is the old cock.'

[2] The Massachusetts Historical Society had been instituted about 1795, in consequence of the exertions of some clergymen of Boston, especially of Dr. Belknap, author of two accurate and interesting volumes of American Biography, the *History of New Hampshire*, and of several Historical Tracts.

[3] In Disputations at Cambridge, the Opponent first propounded an argument which was answered by a Respondent.

ference. To my utter astonishment, he began with a violent tirade against Gibbon, as an enemy to our holy religion. He particularly attacked those points of his history which at that time it was the fashion to censure in the strongest terms in the pulpit at St. Mary's.

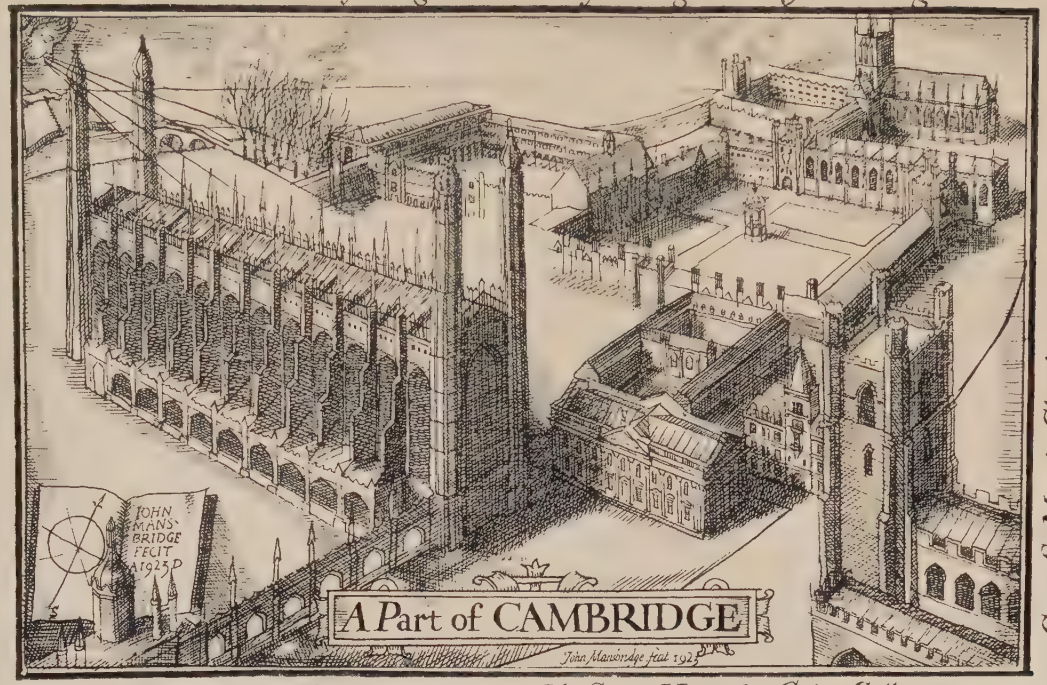
I thought the Doctor had taken leave of his senses, but following the direction of his eye, I immediately discovered the cause of this unlooked-for burst of oratory; for he was evidently endeavouring to make an impression on a very fat man, plainly dressed in a grey coat with black buttons, who was standing in front of the Undergraduates, and whom I immediately recognised as the Duke of Norfolk. He was accompanied by an Undergraduate by the name of Lacy, of Queens'.

The Deputy Professor was so exhausted by the *premature delivery* of what proved afterwards to be a portion of his Commencement speech, that the Disputation shortly concluded, with his reading his determination in a voice scarcely audible.

Every record, whether meant to be eulogistic or the reverse, reveals, if only by implication, quarrels which did or did not stop short of the law. Intrigue for place capturing, snobbishness expressed in flattery, these were academic methods, if not virtues.

In Winstanley's 'Cambridge in the Eighteenth Century,'[1] recently published, there is a careful and meticulous examination of the struggles for power—and sustained power at that—on the part of the Chancellor, Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle, who sought to turn every election, whether for Lord High Steward or Professor or Esquire Bedell, into a triumph for his sycophants, always hungry for office after office. When he secured the High Stewardship for Lord Sandwich, whom Winstanley described as 'an abandoned profligate sunk in sensual enjoyment, a distinguished member of the infamous Hell-fire Club, which met at Medmenham Abbey, and the boon companion of some of the worst men of his time,' the Duke carried through 'one of the fiercest and most hardly fought contests that either University has ever known'; although the recipient of the office regarded it as 'an object which in itself was

[1] *The University of Cambridge in the Eighteenth Century*, by D. A. Winstanley, M.A. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1922.


The River Cam & Trinity Bridge.
Trinity College & S. John' College.
Great S. Mary's Church.
King's College Chapel.
The Senate House & Caius College.
JOHN MANSBRIDGE FECIT A1925
A Part of CAMBRIDGE
John Mansbridge feat 1925

a trifle.' The book shows how at this time, when the Universities had forgotten that their place was that of leader in the nation and guardian of its noblest ideals, party divisions absorbed all men's energies at Cambridge and were but a mere reflection of those at Westminster. 'It is neither uninteresting nor uninstructive,' says Winstanley, 'to see men imitating on a small stage the warfare of the great world, and striving to attain their petty ambitions with as much fury and as little scruple as if contending for empires.' Thus he makes the story of University decadence 'read politically something like a documented romance of Elizabethan buccaneers on the high seas and across the Atlantic,' and the Duke of Newcastle, of whom the best that can be said is that though 'a master of corruption, he was not himself corrupt,' becomes at once the hero and the villain of the piece.

The only College founded during the century was Worcester, on the site of the old Benedictine Hall of Gloucester. It is obvious that the Colleges were not full. The lack of students gave opportunity to establish life on country-house lines. There was no need to pack Bachelors, Scholars, or Pensioners three or more in a room. The absence of new foundations is thus no proof of lethargy in responding to demand. It was not the time for such adventures, as there were no students in need of fresh accommodation.

Students found it difficult, however, to get help in their work. They were not a favoured class. Gibbon condemns Magdalen on the ground of fourteen unprofitable months spent there. He was certainly very young at the time. 'In my fifteenth year I felt myself raised from a boy to a man. My vanity was flattered by the velvet cap and silk gown which distinguishes a gentleman commoner from a plebeian student.' A studiously disposed youth was not merely unpopular with his fellows, but the Dons protected themselves against him. 'I should like to read some Greek,' said John Miller of Worcester to his tutor at the close of the century.

'Well, and what do you want to read?' 'Some Sophocles.' 'Then come to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.' 'He went and read a hundred lines, but could never again effect an entrance.'

It is difficult to imagine a state of affairs in which students studied or not as they pleased, being well content by device or trickery to make some sort of pretence of learning at Act or Disputation, in full confidence that they would be admitted without difficulty to their degrees. The recognised ways of procedure were clear. A string of syllogisms committed to memory or placed in the appropriate place on the paper, or repeated orally to the examiners, who, if not already replete, would later be feasted, constituted the requirements of academic approval.

If the candidate had to remain in a room for long, there were ways of passing the time which, to say the least, were not academic. A learned 'Doctor' could become so by talking nonsense to a professional auditor. There is no need to differentiate between Oxford and Cambridge in these respects except that the latter instituted the Mathematical Tripos in 1747, and in doing so set in motion forces which ultimately raised the whole standard of the University to its present high level. More than fifty years were to elapse before Oxford set her 'examination' house in order, by passing in 1800 the Public Examination Statute, which in the opinion of the 1850 Commissioners first raised the studies of the University 'from their abject state.'

The most important signs of reawakening, however, were to be found in the improved arrangements for making appointments to Fellowships. The Seniority at Trinity had hitherto had their own method of preserving the amenities of their society, but in 1786 ten Junior Fellows protested and courageously carried the matter forward until it came before Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who judged that the Seniors were neglectful of their proper duty, but the Juniors unwise in their procedure; he therefore adjourned the question in the

hope that it would be settled privately. The Lord Chancellor, says Gunning, 'heard no more of the appeal . . . and from that time to the present the Fellows have been elected with the utmost impartiality.' All this happened in the Mastership of John Hinchliffe (1731–1794), who was also Bishop of Peterborough. Ultimately he offended the Government by Liberal (or Whig) speeches in the House of Lords, and to remove him from Trinity George III (who was fearful of unsound opinions in a College) offered him the golden Deanery of Durham.

At Oxford a new type of college head was paying attention to similar matters. Provost Eveleigh of Oriel, immediately after his appointment in 1781, set himself to secure fairness in the election to the College Fellowships, which were untrammelled by conditions of residence. As a result Oriel took a leading place in Oxford, and indeed in national affairs, for nearly fifty years, when it yielded, or appeared to yield, pride of place to Balliol, a foundation which adapted itself readily to the demands of a new intellectual age.

There is much that has been unnoticed. Nothing has been said concerning Halley (1656–1742), the astronomer, and but little of that attractive yet wayward scholar Richard Porson, who, of humble birth, passed through Eton, not indeed to King's, but to Trinity, throwing off on his way gems of classical wit and learning which will endure so long as scholars forgather. No mention has been made of the fact that Cambridge was the home of great preachers and poets. The stirring events of the times carried us past Edmund Spenser, John Milton, Jeremy Taylor, without so much as a nod to them. But of making lists there is no end. Suffice it to say that there is some truth in the generalisation that Cambridge, as compared with Oxford, is not a place of movements; it makes movements possible.

The century closes on a note of hope. Political troubles were not such as to force a division in University society between the adherents of a dispossessed King and those of his *de facto* successor. The Whig of

1700 had become the Tory of 1800; both alike looked out with concern on the rise of a new class, but so far this class had not asserted itself. The deep and stagnant waters of University life were stirred by the welling forth of new springs of scholarship. The 'Tripos' at Cambridge had encouraged a new succession of mathematicians, and at Oxford the new Examination Statute was planned and almost brought into being.

The College Heads still 'regarded themselves as seated upon an academic Olympus, from whose serene heights they surveyed the common herd beneath them with a sort of contemptuous pity'; but they numbered among them men who had some title to feel pride in their achievements, Eveleigh of Oriel (1748–1814), Cyril Jackson of Christ Church (1746–1819), and W. L. Mansel of Trinity, Cambridge (1753–1820), while Christopher Wordsworth (1774–1846) and Whewell (1794–1866) were in the making.

CHAPTER VII

SIZARS, SERVITORS AND 'SMARTS'

The poor student was never wholly absent from the Universities. Indeed, as we have seen, poverty and scholarship were akin in pre-Reformation times, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they exhibited affection for one another. But the situation had been wholly changed by the abolition of the religious houses, and by the intellectual outlook of Elizabethan England. When the revival of learning came, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was little superfluity of means other than in the hands of the nobility or the Church. The nobility had their retainers, some of whom they no doubt helped, perhaps for private reasons, on the way to scholarship; the Church depended for its very existence on a regular supply of skilled 'clerks.' There is little need to stress the obvious truth that the great statesmen and ecclesiastics of mediaeval England were as a rule men who had been born in humble circumstances.

Such were Robert Grosseteste, William of Wykeham, and Thomas Wolsey. The truth was that there were two ways to power, one through the University and one through the field of battle, and that of these the former was the more sure, as well as the more safe. But it was also the less attractive to the well-born youth of undeveloped intellect and splendid physique.

The sons of well-to-do men, however, often enrolled themselves as University students: some because they had broken with the traditions of their house, as in the case of St. Edmund Rich; some because they had embraced directly the religious life, and perhaps some

few because they foresaw the power they could exert in the future through the University.

But, even so, they could not of themselves have erected the Colleges, for boys and youths seldom had the disposal of large properties. Endowments could only be created by men and women in their maturity, or at the close of their lives, and those in the mood to do such great works were in the first instances ecclesiastics who had gathered gear, or religious devotees acting under their influence. Even these did not feel a call to help the rich who could fend for themselves, and, without a shadow of doubt, the early Colleges were devised for poor scholars, not because they were poor, but because they were scholars. And of all such the Founders' kin, especially at Oxford, were judged to be the most deserving.

The Statutes of the Colleges are studded with poverty clauses. Nevertheless, in course of time others, not poor, but, it is to be hoped, scholars, sought the amenity and protection of the Colleges. They desired to become paying guests, and on those terms they were admitted as Commoners or Pensioners. The same kind of thing happened in the grammar schools : for example, at Eton, where the Collegers were admitted under poverty clauses and the Oppidans made such payments as were fixed from time to time.

In the course of our narrative we have seen everything else but the Colleges vanish from the University, and we have also seen that the mediaeval stream of clerical scholars eventually ran dry. But learning and scholarship maintained their ancient appeal, even when other religious exercises were discontinued or changed. Consequently the endowments of Colleges were secured to them in part, if not in whole, and new endowments were created, though on a niggardly scale, if the opportunity be considered, but sufficient to send the sixteenth-century Universities on their way with power.

Neither the Elizabethan Codes nor the Laudian Statutes obliterated the poverty clauses. They remained until the nineteenth-century Commissioners formally

abolished them. They did this in the interests of 'Merit.' But they were able to do so largely because the interests of the poor scholar were forgotten in an age of 'efficiency,' and there were few able, if willing, to advocate their cause. At the same time the 'close' scholarships (i.e., those confined to certain schools or districts) were abolished except where the interests were too powerful. In any case, the most difficult time for the poor scholar to get to Oxford or Cambridge was from 1854–1904. The Education Act of 1902 increased the powers of Local Education Authorities to grant scholarships, which many of the most enlightened among them did. There is real hope that the immediate result of the twentieth-century Commission will be to abolish by statute grants of money to 'Scholars' able to do without them, but in regard to 'Fellows,' it is still felt that in that capacity they perform service for which they should be remunerated in reasonable manner, however well-to-do they may be.

It must not be thought, however, that the disregard of the Founders' intention in regard to poverty passed entirely unnoticed by even good 'Tories,' not to mention Radical reformers. Dean Burgon, a 'High Churchman of the Old School,' is most explicit in this matter. In his short life of Edward Hawkins, 'the great Provost' of Oriel, published in 1888, the Dean writes: 'The claims of Poverty had been the object of paramount solicitude with Founders.[1] This qualification and condition of election to Fellowships and Scholarships, never omitted among the requirements recited by them, and generally recited *first*, was now formally abolished.' And again, 'That the Colleges were specially intended for the encouragement of Learning in the sons of *poor* parents, has been often proved as well as largely insisted

[1] The following clause occurs in the Statutes of Merton and Oriel Colleges: 'In regard to those who shall be admitted to a share of this charity, let care be taken, with the utmost solicitude, that none should be admitted except those who are honourable, good-living, peaceable, humble, indigent, given to study and desirous of making progress.'

on. Next to a burning jealousy for God's honour and glory, nothing is more conspicuous in the records of these ancient foundations than a holy solicitude on this head. But, by the new legislation, the sacred claim of Poverty—(meaning, of course, thereby those *pauperes Scholares* who would gladly come up to Oxford could they in any way afford to do so)—is set at nought. It is no longer possible, except at what would be to such persons a ruinous cost, for a man to obtain the full benefits of an University education. Thus the poor have been robbed of their birthright.' Yet again, 'As an honest man he (Edward Hawkins) deplored the injustice done to the poor by defrauding them of their birthright . . . he denounced the legislation by which this pious intention of theirs (the Founders) was wholly set aside. The transparent fallacy of claiming that henceforth the *Merit* of candidates shall alone be considered—while all that is *meant* by "Merit" is *the number of marks obtained at a competitive examination*—he remarked upon with just ridicule and displeasure.'

The force of these clear opinions perhaps may be reduced a little if it is remembered that the Oxford Heads hated the Commission, and consequently most, if not all, of what they did. It will be a later task for us to see how and in what way the Universities were helped or hindered by the abolition of the Poverty Statutes, but that the poor were dispossessed—we will not follow the High Church Tory Dean in saying 'robbed'—is certain.

A little later it will be clear that the Statutes were disregarded, but it is a moral point—or, shall we say, a philosophical speculation—as to the length of period required for robbery by custom to make valid a title to property.

In the eighteenth century, on which it is necessary to linger awhile, the Colleges were sufficiently ample and commodious to maintain in comfort the entire population of the Universities.

The only undergraduates sought after, by the generality of Dons, were the noble and rich. Scholars

were admitted as well because they were inevitable. As a rule they came direct from schools. They had to swear poverty, but, like other oaths required at the Universities, this was regarded as a matter of form. These Scholars usually became Fellows afterwards, and again found it easy to conform to custom and take the necessary oaths.

'How can you hold your fellowship, while you receive so much (contrary to your Statutes) from other sources?' said one to a Senior Fellow. 'Don't you know' (was the reply) 'that you may *hold almost anything*, if you will but *hold your tongue*? And I'll thank you to hold yours.'

The violation of Statutes was universal, and it will not prove edifying or necessary to labour the point. But the observation of Amherst, who can be trusted in this matter, since he was a Scholar and passed through it all, may be noticed. Writing of the Freshman he says:

> If he comes elected from any publick ſchool, as from *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter*, or *Merchant-Taylors*. . . . He takes one oath, for example, that he has not an eſtate in *land of inheritance, nor a perpetual penſion of five pounds* per annum, though perhaps he has an eſtate of ten times that value; being taught that it is mere matter of form. . . . To evade the force of this oath, ſeveral persons have made their eſtates over *in truſt* to a friend, and *ſometimes* to a *bed-maker;* as a gentleman at *Oxford* did, who locked her up in his cloſet, till he had taken the oath, and then diſpoſſeſs'd the poor old woman of her imaginary eſtate and cancell'd the writings.
>
> That most excellent caſuiſt, the preſent biſhop of *Ely*, in a book entitled, *Chronicon Precioſum*, has, with great judgment and accuracy, diſcuſs'd *this* point; *viz.* Whether a perſon, who has *an eſtate of inheritance in land, or a perpetual penſion of above five pounds* per annum, *as things now ſtand, may with equity, and a good conſcience, take the aforeſaid oath;* and has determin'd it in the *affirmative.*

The good Bishop was educated at Eton[1] and at King's College, Cambridge, so the property oath was

[1] The Scholars of Eton were allowed under Henry VI Statutes to possess five marks sterling per annum.

not strange to him. The College proper then consisted of the Head, the Fellows, and the Scholars on the Foundation, much hedged in with Statutes which were constantly ignored whenever they proved inconvenient or out of date. In a time of quarrel, as at Trinity College in 1714, they might be revived by the Head to the undoing of the Fellows.

In addition there were the Noblemen[1] in both Universities, the Fellow Commoners, Pensioners, and Sizars of Cambridge, and the Gentlemen Commoners, Commoners, and Servitors of Oxford.

The institution of Sizars and Servitors was an inevitable development in a community which consisted largely of country gentlemen, or of others such as the Dons, who desired to live like them. Sizars and Servitors were, as a rule, really poor, and unable to qualify as 'Scholars.'

But before proceeding further to examine their place and influence and the Statutes which regulated their life, it will be well to take a glance at the other grades of student. The Noblemen were indeed a well-arrayed order. 'On Commencement Sunday' (1785), writes Gunning in 1852, 'the college walks were crowded. Every Doctor in the University wore his scarlet robes during the whole day. All the noblemen appeared in their splendid robes, not only at St. Mary's and in the college halls, but also in the public walks. Their robes (which are now uniformly purple) at that time were of various colours, according to the tastes of the wearers,—purple, white, green, and rose-colour, were to be seen at the same time.' They were allowed Honorary Degrees after a period of residence, and could doubtless obtain them unconditionally if they wished.

The Noblemen, the Fellow Commoners, or Gentlemen Commoners were 'the most shining men in the University; their gowns were richly trimmed with gold or silver lace—their caps are covered with velvet,

[1] It is interesting to note that this category is still preserved in the Cambridge Official Calendar (1922), but not in that of Oxford.

the tassels to which are of gold and silver.' They possessed the right of dining at the High Table and of 'cracking their bottle and their joke if they have one' in Common Room at Oxford or in Combination Room at Cambridge. They were the men who, possessing 'tufts' on their caps, were hunted by certain Dons and Students who, after all, were only doing what the lowly dependent or the get-on-at-all-costs have done in every age of civilised society. It was from their ranks, or from those of the Commoners who could not resist imitating them, that the 'Smarts' and 'Lowngers' emanated.

The Oxford Smart of the first rank is described—and not necessarily caricatured—by Amherst as :

> One of those who come in their academical undreſs, every morning, between ten and eleven, to Lyne's coffee houſe, after which he takes a turn or two upon the Park or under Merton Wall, whilſt the dull regulars are at dinner in their hall according to ſtatute ; about one he dines alone in his chamber upon a boil'd chicken or ſome pettitoes ; after which he allows himſelf an hour at leaſt to dreſs in, to make his afternoon appearance at Lyne's ; from whence he adjourns to Hamilton's about five ; from whence (after ſtrutting about the room for a while, and drinking a dram of citron) he goes to chapel to ſhew how genteely he dreſſes, and how well he can chaunt. After prayers he drinks Tea with ſome celebrated Toaſt and then waits upon her to Maudlin Grove or Paradiſe Garden and back again. He ſeldom eats any ſupper and never reads anything but novels and romances.

The 'Lowngers' is immortalised in the *Oxford Sausage*, first published in 1764:

> I rise about nine, get to breakfast by ten,
> Blow a tune on my flute, or perhaps make a pen ;
> Read a Play 'till eleven, or cock my laid hat
> Then step to my Neighbours 'till Dinner to chat.
> Dinner over, to Toms, or to James's I go
> The news of the Town, so impatient to know.
> While Law, Locke and Newton and all the rum Race
> That talk of their modes, their Ellipses and Space,
> The seat of the Soul and new Systems on high
> In holes as abstruse as their mysteries lie.

The morning of his day is enough for his company—we will leave his more exciting evening to the imagination.

In thinking of these types it must be borne in mind that there was not the slightest pressure exerted upon the generality of them to attend lectures, to study, to dispute or to answer questions in examination. Taverns and coffee-houses were open to those who had a taste for them. Clubs were few and far between, but the whole University turned out to these parasitic institutions just as they could afford it or were willing to endure debt and 'duns.'

In the middle of the eighteenth century dinner was at twelve, to which hour it had gradually moved forward from 10 A.M. in 1550. Toward the end of the century it had reached 3 P.M. There was no breakfast in 1550, that came in gradually when dinner advanced, as, at a later date, lunch and tea came in whilst supper went out.

College fare was not really good until the nineteenth century,[1] and even then, except in notorious instances,

[1] 'In his sermon at Paules crosse in 1550, Thomas Lever, Fellow and Preacher of St. John's, told of those "menne not werye of theyr paynes" at Cambridge, whose first meal was when "at ten of the clocke they go to dynner, whereas they be contente wyth a penye pyece of byefe amongst iiii, hauyng a few porage made of the brothe of the same byefe, wyth salte and otemell, and nothynge els." Their only other food was taken at "v. of the clocke in the euenyng, when as they haue a supper not much better then theyr dyner." It was one of Sir Tho. More's humorous proposals to his children when he resigned the Chancellorship to retrench their expenses by degrees from Lincoln's Inn diet to the New Inn fare, and so on at last to the Oxford fare, "which if our power stretch not to maintaine, then may we like poore schollers of Oxforde goe a begging with our bags and wallets and sing *salve regina* at rich mens doores, where for pitie some goode folkes will give us their mercifull charitie; and so keep companie and be merrie togeather."

'In 1662 John Strype, the ecclesiastical historian, whilst a student of Jesus College, gives a curious account of Cambridge fare:

'"Do not wonder so much at our Commons: they are more than many Colleges have. Trinity itself (where Herring and Davies are), which is the famousest College in the University, have but three half-pence. We have roast meat, dinner and supper throughout the weeke; and such meate as you know I had not use to care for; and that is Veal; but now I have learnt to eat it. Sometimes, neverthelesse, we have boiled meat, with pottage; and beef and mutton, which I am glad of; except Fridays and Saturdays, and

it remained below the normal standard of rich houses. In the eighteenth century it was coarse, except for wine. The drink of a College was in many eyes the chief test of its excellence. The gravest contests were held between Colleges as to the excellence of their beer. Tea was considered effeminate and the fitting drink for Toasts. Moreover, it was a luxury [1] indeed.

> Let the tender Swain
> Each morn regale on nerve-relaxing Tea,
> Companion meet of languor-loving Nymph:
> Be mine each Morn with eager Appetite
> And Hunger undissembled, to repair
> To friendly Buttery; there on smoaking Crust
> And foaming Ale to banquet unrestrained,
> Material Breakfast! Thus in ancient Days
> Our Ancestors robust, with liberal Cups
> Usher'd the Morn, unlike the squeamish Sons
> Of modern Times.

The tavern, in some shape or form, has always been

sometimes Wednesdays; which days we have Fish at dinner, and tansy or pudding for supper. Our parts then are slender enough. But there is this remedy; we may retire into the Butteries, and there take a half-penny loafe and butter or cheese; or else to the Kitchen and take there what the Cook hath. But, for my part, I am sure, I never visited the Kitchen yet, since I have been here, and the Butteries but seldom after meals; unlesse for a Ciza [or *Size*, or *Sice*] that is for a Farthingworth of Small-Beer: so that lesse than a Peny in Beer doth serve me a whole day. Nevertheless sometimes we have Exceedings: then we have two or three Dishes (but that is very rare): otherwise never but one: so that a Cake and a Cheese would be very welcome to me: and a Neat's tongue, or some such thing; if it would not require too much money. . . . Mother I kindly thank you for your Orange pills you sent me. If you are not too straight of money send me some such thing by the Woman, and a pound or two of Almonds and Raisons. . . . We go twice a day to Chapel; in the morning about 7, and in the evening about 5. After we come from Chapel in the morning, which is towards 8, we go to the Butteries for our breakfast, which is usually five Farthings; an halfepenny loafe and butter and a cize of beer. But sometimes I go to an honest House near the College, and have a pint of milk boiled for breakfast." '

[1] In 1650 Souchong cost 24*s.* for 4 ozs. In 1772, 3*s.* for 4 ozs. As late as 1833 the drinking of tea in Oriel was regarded with amused contempt. 'Why! Those Fellows drink tea!' The Oriel Tea Pot was a matter for much hilarity.

present in University life. The picture drawn by Aubrey of the Doctors' men coming into St. Mary's at the end of the sermon, from the Ale House (the 'City Arms' facing the west entrance to St. Mary's), wiping the foam from their beards, is both characteristic of the time and its manners. As for All Souls, it was confounded with the 'Three Tuns' in the satire of Amherst. In spite of the persistent popularity of the tavern, however, the coffee-house was the chief social institution of the eighteenth century, whether in London or elsewhere. There, after the Barber[1] had exercised his art, the 'Smart'—not often the Sizar or the Servitor—repaired. 'In the middle of the seventeenth century an enterprising Turkish merchant of England opened a house for the retail of the "Coffee" drink.' His example spread like wildfire, and soon each class of society and each political group had its haunt. In 1675 the 'Coffea houses are daily frequented.'

'Jacob, a Jew,' says Anthony Wood, 'opened a Coffey-house in 1650 at the Angel in the Parish of St. Peter in the East, Oxon, and there it was by some, who delighted in noveltie, drank.' He also says that 'Arthur Tillyard, apothecary and great royallist, sold coffey publickly in his house against All Soules Coll.' But we must be careful, or the coffee-house will draw us into politics again, as, to the discomfort of the authorities, it drew so many who had better have been at their books. The Coffee-Room, however, which was opened next to Emmanuel, in 1763, was so alluring in its advertisement that we could wish it there now.

'Different Languages (French in particular) will be one of the principal Studies, and made easy and familiar by conversation.' Harangues were occasionally to be delivered against the follies of mankind. 'None but the free, generous, debonnaire, and gay, are desired to attend.' Morality was to be enforced by Prints and Diagrams. 'In order to prevent Intemperance, no Spirituous

[1] The Barber was an important College functionary in the days of powdering and wigs. His rooms were usually within the gates.

Liquor will be admitted, unless meliorated and duly authorized according to Law ; but harmless Tea, Lacedemonian Broth, and invigorating Chocolate, comforting Cakes, with cooking Tarts and Jellies, etc.' John Delaport, the proprietor, offered also advice to persons in legal difficulties from the hour of 10 to noon. 'The best of Tea, with Rolls and Butter, at Sixpence per Head.'

'A Library of Books is now in the Coffee-room, which will be increased ; and for the entertainment of such Gentlemen who are musically inclined, Instruments will shortly be provided.'

Mr. Delaport found that Emmanuel Coffee-house was made a public promenade : he therefore instituted admission by ticket, and held out additional attractions.

'A person will attend, to gather the Fruit, Pease or Beans, for such as choose to take a Dinner or Supper.' There was to be a musical performance on Monday afternoons, weather permitting. French lessons, fishing, and perukes were also to be had on the premises.

In the year 1800 there were two hundred and forty-seven matriculants at Oxford and one hundred and twenty-nine at Cambridge. Assuming, as there is reason to do, that this was a normal year, there must have been about seven hundred and fifty students under instruction at Oxford, and about four hundred at Cambridge. Of these about one-half were 'Pensioners' or Commoners, and the other half, in equal parts, were Fellow or Gentleman Commoners (including Noblemen), Foundation Scholars, and Sizars or Servitors.

The Servitors at Oxford performed duties much more menial than those of the Sizars at Cambridge. They were often not much more than body servants to Gentlemen Commoners, waiting upon them, dressing them, and cleaning their shoes and writing their exercises. Not always though, for Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), Servitor at Pembroke, would be strange at such business, except the last. Still, Robert Southey (1774–1843), who was at Balliol in 1792, protested against the Oxford system of Servitors 'tolling the bell, waiting at table, and performing other menial offices,' while in his 'Life of John Wesley,' who was a Scholar or Junior Student of Christ Church in 1720, he holds up to Oxford the

superior practice of Cambridge in retaining no distinctions of dress or service.

But the Cambridge Fellow-Commoner had no use for the poor man, other than as a servant. (There may have been some servants who, not attaining to the dignity of a sizarship, were entered in other ways.) Whatever Oxford may have thought of its Servitors, however, Cambridge began to be proud of its Sizars.[1] It had reason to be, for who more glorious in its annals than Isaac Newton, sub-Sizar of Trinity in 1661, or who more assertive, and indeed learned, than Richard Bentley, Sizar of St. John's in 1680? Then, had there not arisen Richard Watson, Bishop, Professor, and agriculturist, valiant fighter for his interests, who was a Sizar at Trinity in 1755? It was he who said 'The Sizars were not so respectfully looked upon by the Pensioners and Scholars of the house as they ought to have been, inasmuch as the most learned and leading men in the University have ever arisen from that order.'

There is, in point of fact, an obvious difference between the implications of the term 'Servitor' as compared with 'Sizar.' The latter is merely one who drew a 'size' or a portion of bread or drink, and its Oxford equivalent would be a Batteler. To size at Cambridge, or to battel at Oxford, was to set down in the Buttery Book the quantum of food taken.

With this we can end our account of the Cambridge Sizar, who, gradually establishing his equality with the Pensioner, and finding himself confused not once, or twice, with the Scholars, passed on to the heights of academic dignity and power. Superior he usually was in learning and intelligence to all the gilt-arrayed noblemen who passed through on their way but are forgotten except in the House of Lords, where their names are presumably on the roll, or at Almack's or Tattersall's, or in the annals of the ring.

[1] They are continued as a form of minor scholarship in Trinity, St. John's, Magdalen, and Emmanuel to this day. Servitors at Oxford were abolished in 1854.

The Oxford Servitor never emancipated himself. He was, as a class, too deep down in poverty. He is described, by one who purports to be of his order, in 1709 as living in

> A Room with Dirt, and Cobwebs lin'd
> Inhabited, let's see—by Four ;
> If I mistake not, 'twas no more.
> Their Dormer Windows with Brown-paper,
> Was patch'd to keep out Northern Vapour.
> The Tables broken Foot stood on
> An Old *Schrevelious* Lexicon.

and hoping

> If he can get Prevarment here,
> Of Zeven or Eight—Pounds a Year,
> To preach.

It is probably true that many of the less gifted or more obsequious of the order did drift into the ranks of the eighteenth-century parish clergy. They were all of course, by Statute, members of the Church of England ; no Dissenter dared show his face in the University unless he dissembled his beliefs. This gave much text in 1670 to John Eachard, who considered that parents of 'inferiour' condition, who had a 'tickling conceit of their son's being,' were responsible for the 'contempt of the Clergy and Religion,' which was then, as indeed usually, far too prevalent.

> For it is ten times more happy both for a lad and the Church, to be a corn-cutter, or tooth-drawer, to make or mend shoes, or to be of any inferiour profession, than to be invited to, and promised the conveniences of a learned education, and to have his name only stand airing upon the college tables, and his chief business shall be to buy eggs and butter.

It was a good chance, however, which sent Samuel Wesley the elder off to Oxford in 1683, when he was twenty-one, to try his fortune as a 'poor scholar' at Exeter College, with three guineas of his own. He

was probably too old to commend himself as a Servitor. He took B.A. degree in 1688, and 'by frugal living and by taking pupils' he not only paid his way but made a clear profit of £10 15*s*. With his experience in mind it is doubtful whether he allowed his famous sons any more money over and above what they received as students on the foundation of Christ Church.

The most dramatic approach of a Servitor to Oxford was that made by George Whitefield, who took his B.A. degree in 1736. He was a pious 'pot-boy' of parts, at the Bell Inn, Gloucester, when it was suggested to him that he ought to go to Oxford. So he set out, and became an expert drawer of corks in the society of Pembroke College. Such a qualification was much esteemed. He completed his University career at little expense to his friends, not more indeed than twenty-four pounds. The Methodists drew him into their society, and in later years he became the leader of the Calvinistic Methodists.

Just before Whitefield arrived at Pembroke, Samuel Johnson had left it, after a brief residence of fourteen months, which commenced on October 31, 1728. This 'rough seamy-faced raw-boned College Servitor' is one of the most impressive of all the figures which ever graced the Oxford scene. For the scholarship of his College ('a nest of singing birds,' as he called it) Johnson had little else than contempt. He felt himself bound to recommend his friend John Tayler to seek residence at Christ Church. But scholarship or no scholarship, Pembroke will ever regard the period of the Servitors, Samuel Johnson and George Whitefield, as memorable in its history. It had already been a College of great names—Francis Beaumont the playwright (1584–1616) and John Pym the patriot (1584–1643) were on its books in the days when it was still Broadgates Hall, and Sir William Blackstone the lawyer (1723–1780), twelve years after Johnson had left. It must have been a College which attracted poverty because of its low fees. The College bills of Johnson

amounted only to some eight shillings per week, which was an average amount for a Commoner there at that time.

Johnson took an active part in the wit and arguments of the College. Suffering from the disease of hypochondria, which clouded his mind at times and depressed it more often, he fought against it in truly heroic manner, seeking to banish gloom by the bright sallies of his intellect. So independent a nature could not pay veneration to the men of inferior mind such as were his tutors, but with his characteristic humility he valued highly the recognition of Dr. Adams, 'his nominal tutor,' who in later years admitted how superior a student he had been. 'That was liberal and noble,' Johnson said. But there was much time for alterations to be made in human judgments between 1729 and 1776. Johnson, who had been disappointed in not receiving the help of the friend upon whom he relied, had noticed no strong desire on the part of the College to keep him, or even to help him, when poverty made it impossible for him to pay his bills. Perhaps it would be better to say that the College did not put itself about to find a way of rendering help to so independent and powerful a Servitor, whom Carlyle portrays

> with his shoes worn out; how the charitable Gentleman Commoner secretly places a new pair at his door; and the raw-boned Servitor, lifting them, looking at them near, with his dim eyes, with what thoughts,—pitches them out of the window! Wet feet, mud, frost, hunger or what you will; but not beggary: we cannot stand beggary! Rude stubborn self-help here; a whole world of squalor, rudeness, confused misery and want, yet of nobleness and manfulness withal. It is a type of the man's life, this pitching-away of the shoes. An original man;—not a second-hand, borrowing or begging man. Let us stand on our own basis, at any rate! On such shoes as we ourselves can get. On frost and mud, if you will, but honestly on that;—on the reality and substance which Nature gives *us*, not on the semblance, on the thing she has given another than us! . . .

Johnson's life at Oxford must have been exceptionally

difficult, ending as it did before he was admitted to a degree. Yet it is not to his pages, as to those of Gibbon, the Gentleman Commoner, that one turns for disparagement of the University. He saw it, and saw it whole, all down the years, undisturbed in his estimate by the use made of the place by the 'Smarts,' who regarded it much as a 'peacock a farm yard,' or by men who had enough wit to secure a place on one of its numerous foundations, but not sufficient brains or character either to do good work there or to leave it for their proper sphere elsewhere. Johnson saw in Oxford a place of learning: 'There is here, Sir,' said he, 'such a progressive emulation. The students are anxious to appear well to their tutors; the tutors are anxious to have their pupils appear well in the college; the colleges are anxious to have their students appear well in the University; and there are excellent rules of discipline in every college. That the rules are sometimes ill observed, may be true; but is nothing against the system. The members of an University may, for a season, be unmindful of their duty. I am arguing for the excellency of the institution.'

It is in such a mood that we would leave the dark days—as they are now regarded—of the eighteenth century, knowing that Johnson's belief in Oxford was justified by the steady development of the nineteenth century, both there and at Cambridge, and that the twentieth century will set its hand to plough the most fertile fields of the mental and spiritual estate of England, undeterred by any barriers of sect, class, wealth, or sex which a multitude of narrow, misguided minds have sought to set up in days when the Universities lay tied and bound 'in shallows and in miseries.'

CHAPTER VIII

METHODISTS, EVANGELICALS AND TRACTARIANS

John Wesley the Methodist, Charles Simeon the Evangelical, and John Henry Newman the Tractarian stand out prominently as typical religious leaders who passed in their courses through the older English Universities. They stand out, these men and their fellows, as those who justify institutions not only for their own but for all time. In their days such justification was sorely needed. Throughout the eighteenth century both Oxford and Cambridge appear to have been farthest removed from the realisation of the purposes of their foundation. If it were not that the specific movements which these three men served were more the English expression of great waves of thought and feeling passing over the Western world, it would seem that they arose, protesting, as pure bursts of the spirit out of societies largely prostituted to the 'service of tables.'

Methodism, Evangelicalism, and Tractarianism, ever since their inception, have been three streams of religious influence flowing powerfully through English life and institutions, converging at times, mingling their waters, but always preserving a separate identity; each movement striving in its best moments to exhibit the virtues and reject the faults of the others, even when differing most in doctrine and practice from them.

In Oxford and Cambridge alike the interests of men were directed more to religious than to secular learning. In the days of the Renaissance, the chief Oxford teachers lectured upon the sacred texts rather than upon the

writings of the Greek philosophers. Colet dealt with the Bible, with sacrifice, and with the origin of things. More's first lectures were on Augustine's 'City of God.' When Erasmus came to Oxford in 1498 he was pressed to lecture on Isaiah or the Pentateuch. The picture which he gives of Oxford society at the time of his first visit is convincing in this respect. 'Would that you could have been present at our symposium,' he writes to a friend in Paris, describing a party which Prior Charnock invited to meet him.

> The guests were well selected, time and place suitable. Epicurus and Pythagoras would have been equally delighted. You will ask how our party was composed. Listen, and be sorry that you were not one of us. First there was the Prior, Richard Charnock, and a modest learned divine who had the same day preached a Latin sermon. Next him was your clever acquaintance, Philip. Colet was in the chair, on his right the Prior, on his left a young theologian, to whom I sate next, with Philip opposite, and there were several others besides. . . . We talked over our wine, but not about our wine. We discoursed on many subjects. Among the rest, we talked about Cain. Colet said that Cain's fault had been want of trust in his Creator ; Cain had trusted to his own strength, and had gone to work upon the soil, while Abel fed his sheep, and was content with what the earth gave him of its own accord. We disagreed. The theologian was syllogistic, I was rhetorical ; but Colet beat us all down. He spoke with a sacred fury. He was sublime and as if inspired.

The Reformation cut England off from the discipline and force of the Church of Rome, to which she had been wedded in the Synod of Whitby (664), and left her to rely upon her own inherent power and her own means of access to the centre of all life. Henceforward it was to be expected that there would be periods of both adventure and stagnation and, so far as the Universities were concerned, times of faith and of the lack of it, much more clearly marked than in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But if England was cut off from Rome, this did not in the least mean that she was cut off from the

Continent. Indeed, as we have seen, the Puritan revival in Cambridge was largely due to those Doctors and Masters who had fled to Geneva and elsewhere to avoid the wrath of Mary and who returned triumphantly in the spacious days of Elizabeth. But there is, and can be, no doubt that the Reformation cut off or gradually forced out the old order from the Universities. That we have seen. But the work of the Reformation was carried out with sufficient skill to maintain the lines of communication with the pre-Reformation Church and to establish the identity and privileges of the Colleges of the new era with those of the old.

Thus the Statutes consecrating the societies to the service of God and His Church were entirely unaltered in substance and generally in detail. Their inviolable connection with the intentions and the expressed wishes of the Founders was assumed until 1871, when they were largely swept away by the powers conferred upon the governing bodies. 'Will the present governing body (we ask ourselves)'—writes Dean Burgon of Oriel —'after abolishing their Founder's Statutes and contravening in every respect his plainly-declared intention—*still*, on their three Commemoration days, solemnly confess before God their bounden duty so to employ their Benefactors' bounty *as we think they would approve if they were upon earth to witness what we do?*' But the good Dean must surely have had enough imagination to perceive that Oriel, even after the Oxford Movement, in its expression of religion would scarcely have met with the approval of the Founders of the 'Hall of Blessed Mary'!

Enough has been said on this matter for the present. The actual transformation of the Universities from mere institutions of the Church of England into seats of learning for the whole nation will occupy our attention later. But it must be remembered all through our consideration of the Methodist, Evangelical, and Tractarian Revivals, that Nonconformists as such were not merely excluded from the Colleges, but were more or less

detested and attacked.[1] Hence it was impossible for any Nonconformist movement to originate among the younger men and teachers.

Our concern, however, is not so much with the movements in their general aspects as with the academic life of the men who made them. Of the three, Simeon alone remained constantly in college life. Wesley left because of the call of the unconverted world. Newman turned sadly away because there was no room for Roman Catholics. Neither of them was rejected in the ordinary

[1] 'Almost every evening during the latter part of this winter, there were riotous assemblages, and the windows of many of the Dissenters were broken. A very numerous mob collected one evening, who, after breaking several windows, did great injury to the Meeting-house. Mr. Salmon, a Fellow of St. John's, exerted himself with great effect, frequently exposing himself to considerable personal risk. The Rev. George Whitmore, Tutor of the above College, thought more favourably of the conduct of the mob. Addressing his pupils next morning on the subject of the riot, he expressed a hope, that none of them had joined in the disturbance, which he was pleased to designate "A LAUDABLE EBULLITION OF JUSTIFIABLE ZEAL!!"

'An attempt was made in the University and town to represent those who differed from Mr. Pitt as enemies to the constitution. Associations were formed against Republicans and Levellers, the resolutions against them were expressed in very offensive language, and all those who declined signing them were stigmatized as enemies to their King. The Dissenters (as a body) were included in that number, and I remember Sir Busick Harwood (who had until a very short period of that time professed himself a Whig) made the following remark: "In general, every man ought to be considered honest until he has proved himself a rogue; but with Dissenters, the maxim should be reversed, and every Dissenter should be considered a rogue, until he had proved himself to be an honest man." A grocer named Gazam was reported to have uttered seditious expressions. The mob constructed a figure to represent him; a halter was put about his neck, and was affixed to a gallows; this was carried to the door of all good subjects, and those who did not subscribe were considered deficient in loyalty. I happened to be standing with some of the Fellows of Emmanuel at their college gate when the effigy was exhibited. We were joined by the Master, who laughed heartily: he gave the men who carried it five shillings, and desired them to shake it well, "opposite Master Gazam's house."

'In the subsequent winter the proceedings of these mobs (whose watchword was "Church and King!") were so outrageous, that several Dissenters, of whom Gazam was one, consulted their own safety by leaving Cambridge for America.'—*Gunning*.

sense of the word. In their love for Oxford, both Wesley and Newman were alike, any and every day of their lives ; and Simeon was Cambridge to his heart's core. They were—at least the two former of them—among the 'heroes not mine' upon whom Matthew Arnold looked back with infinite longing and pain ; dwellers in 'the homes of lost causes and forsaken beliefs and unpopular names and impossible loyalties.'

> The thoughts that rain their steady glow
> Like stars on life's cold sea,
> Which others know, or say they know,
> They never shone for me.

At the outset there is no need to say 'this is of Oxford,' 'that of Cambridge.' The religious leaders, like the poets or even the scientists or statesmen, spring from the heart of a people, and merely pass through the institutions of their time, lighting them up as they hurry on in the pursuit of their ideal. Many great teachers have missed the Universities. Their paths have led them through other courts. It is idle to conjecture what, for example, would have been the form of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' had John Bunyan been, like Wesley, a Fellow of Lincoln, or, like Simeon, a Vice-Provost of King's, for the great powers of the man would have shone out whether his quarters were in a college quadrangle or in a fetid prison. It is permitted to us to rejoice that Bunyan lived to be a tinker and in prison at that. Not even the boldest of us would alter the setting. But, equally so, we may be glad that John Wesley, Charles Simeon and John Henry Newman fought their intellectual and spiritual battles, or at any rate the earlier of them, in the studies and common-rooms of the Colleges they loved.

Though, in the main, Methodism and Tractarianism were of Oxford and Evangelicalism of Cambridge, it is impossible to say with confidence that such great happenings were confined, in their origins, either to a period of time or to specified persons, or even to a particular

University. Bishop Warburton said that William Law, the author of the 'Serious Call,' 'begat Methodism,' but Law was an Emmanuel man. Moreover, William Romaine of Christ Church and Thomas Adams of Hart Hall, though Oxford men, were Evangelical leaders. Even the Tracts were planned in the Rectory of a Cambridge man, Hugh James Rose, who is regarded by some as not merely a supporter but a progenitor of the Oxford Movement. In 1826, he asserted in a course of Cambridge sermons the Catholic teaching of the Church; and although, at a later stage, he could not go 'all lengths with the authors of the Movement,' yet he never lost their respect. Moreover, in thinking of the University and its effect at any given time, we must remind ourselves that we are concerned not with a highly organised mechanism but with groups of living men the sum total of whose personalities at a particular moment makes up what may be called the mind, or indeed the spirit, of the place. Keble, Hurrell Froude, Newman and the rest are, after all, merely the most characteristic expressions of a spirit which must have been moving through the society, even if it did not permeate all its parts.

The way for both Methodists and Evangelicals was largely paved by the great apologetic writers of a generation or so earlier. These writers placed Christianity on an intellectual basis, thus rendering the development of enthusiasm and the saintly life possible, without obstructing it overmuch by anxiety concerning 'evidences.' It may be said that men like Joseph Butler of Oriel, and Thomas Sherlock of St. Catherine's, piled the fuel which John Wesley and George Whitefield fired.

Before entering into the University lives of the three leaders it will be helpful to locate the times and places of the revivals. The Methodist Revival may be said to have commenced in January 1729, when Charles Wesley, a junior student of Christ Church, persuaded two friends to join him for mutual assistance and

encouragement in strict observance, not only of the rules and spirit of the Church, but also of the Statutes of the College and the intentions of the Founder. It was a bold and difficult quest for young men to start upon ; for old men it would have been well nigh impossible. A little later (November 1729) John Wesley returned to Lincoln College and assumed, as by nature, the leadership. In 1735 the group broke up. John and Charles both went to Georgia ; the Methodists had set out to explore their parish, even to evangelise the world.

To reveal the beginnings of the Evangelical Revival is not so easy. James Harvey (1714–1758) and Samuel Walker (1714–1761) were at Oxford in the days of the Wesleys. They must have been influenced by, even if they were not members of, the Holy Club, as the little group of Methodists came to be called. The Cambridge men, William Grimshaw (1708 – 1763) of Christ's College and John Berridge (1716–1793) of Clare Hall, were ardent Methodists to begin with. On the other hand, Charles Simeon (1759–1836) of King's College, the centre of the picture, had no Methodist connections. Any such would have had short shrift in the Eton and King's of those days. The years of Simeon's incumbency of the parish of Holy Trinity, 1783–1836, may well mark the period during which the influence of the movement radiated directly from the University. But, of course, until quite recent days, Cambridge as compared with Oxford was markedly ' evangelical.'

It was into such a state of Evangelicalism that the father of John Henry Newman (1801–1890) would surely, on all showing, have been likely to put his son, to be confirmed in the faith of his youth and young manhood. But Providence under the human semblance of indecision sent him to Oriel, by way of Trinity, Oxford, and there, with Hurrell Froude acting as assistant, Keble forged him into the spearhead of the Tractarians. Directly the three men came together the Oxford Movement was an accomplished fact ; but the

first clear preaching of its principles was on July 14, 1833, the occasion of John Keble's famous Assize sermon on National Apostasy. 'I have ever considered,' wrote Newman in the 'Apologia,' 'and kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833.' The first period may be held to have closed, so far as its direct dependence on Oxford is concerned, in the year 1845, when Newman, unaccompanied by any other writers of the Tracts, entered the communion of the Church of Rome.

John Wesley entered Oxford as a junior member of Christ Church in 1720 and was elected to a Fellowship of Lincoln in 1726. 'Whatever I am,' said his rejoicing father, 'my Jack is Fellow of Lincoln.' As was the rule of the unreformed Oxford, he resigned his Fellowship on his marriage in 1751. His active participation in University life ended in 1735, although he preached University sermons in 1741 and 1744. It was on his return to Oxford in 1729, after a brief period as curate to his father, that Wesley found 'companions' in the religious associates of his younger brother Charles. This eager, forceful, autocratic sacramentarian, for such he was, seized the opportunity for service open to him. The 'Holy Club' demanded much of its members. It is not surprising that it remained small, never having more than twenty-seven names on its roll ; but the sense of fellowship which always arises among those who pursue a high calling must have been vivid and strong. 'Let me be again an Oxford Methodist. I am often in doubt whether it would not be best for me to resume all my Oxford rules, great and small. I did then walk closely with God and redeem the time,' wrote John in 1772. The rules were strict enough. They bound themselves to receive the Holy Communion weekly, and to fast on Wednesdays and Fridays ; also to observe the old Christian hours of prayer at nine, twelve, and three. Every morning and evening for one hour they practised private prayer and submitted themselves to a rigid system of self-examination. Induced thereto by

Mr. Morgan, a commoner of Christ Church, they systematically instructed prisoners in the Oxford Gaol, and visited the sick regularly. All this was done in a time when the coffee-houses and taverns of Oxford were full of demoralised youths, 'loungers' and 'smarts,' seeking at best a pretty taste in wit.

On three or four weekday evenings the ancient classics occupied their attention, but Sunday was devoted to divinity. As for John, 'he now formed for himself a scheme of studies, resolving not to vary from it for some years at least. Mondays and Tuesdays were allotted to the classics; Wednesdays to logic and ethics; Thursdays to Hebrew and Arabic; Fridays to metaphysics and natural philosophy; Saturdays to oratory and poetry, but chiefly to composition in those arts; and the Sabbath to divinity.'

It appears by his diary, also, that he gave great attention to mathematics. He taught with singular assiduity throughout the year. Writing in 1776, he pours scorn on the Scottish Universities where one 'may study five months in the year, and lounge all the rest. O where was the common sense of those who instituted such colleges? In the English colleges, everyone may reside all the year, as all my pupils did, and I should have thought myself little better than a highwayman if I had not lectured them every day in the year but Sundays.'

George Whitefield, who has already occupied our attention as a Servitor skilled in the manipulation of corks, became a member of the Holy Club in 1735. He had been, before his Oxford days, profoundly impressed by 'The Imitation of Christ,' and at Oxford he discovered the 'Serious Call.' Thus he also 'began to pray and sing psalms,' to fast, and to receive the Sacrament; and so invited to his own person the stream of Oxford ridicule which was turned unceasingly on the despised Methodists. Whitefield, perhaps because he was a Servitor, did not find it easy at the outset to join their number. 'For a year he longed to meet them,

but no opportunity seemed to offer, though he often gazed at them with deep emotions as they passed through a satirical crowd to receive the Eucharist at St. Mary's.' In 1736 he left Oxford ; not being a Scholar, he had no chance of a Fellowship, but he at once became a powerful preacher. His first sermon was delivered in the Church of St. Mary de Crypt at Gloucester, hard by the Bell Inn, and complaint of it was made to the Bishop. His accusers said he had made fifteen people mad. The shrewd prelate replied that he hoped they would not forget their madness before next Sunday.

In those early days the Bishops looked kindly enough on these irreproachable young men, whose zeal was well regulated by the Book of Common Prayer. It was not until later, when the new wine of enthusiasm seemed likely to burst the old bottles of the temporal Church, that they were frowned upon ; and those who sought to imitate them in the Oxford Colleges were thenceforth discountenanced.

The second stage of Methodism began in 1738 and lasted until 1760, in which year the Sacrament began to be administered in Methodist chapels. This stage was really reached as a result of the religious experience which Wesley always regarded as his conversion. ' I felt,' he says, speaking of it, ' my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation ; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death ; and then I testified openly to all . . . what I now first felt in my heart.' In 1784 Wesley, after much reluctance, ordained presbyters, and as a result the system of the Wesleyan Methodist Church as we know it became completely divorced from that of the Church of England, which would allow no tampering with the practice, if not with the doctrine, of the Apostolic Succession. This divorce was not contemplated by Wesley. In a manifesto published by him in 1790, just before his death, he said, ' I declare once more that I live and die a member of the Church of

England, and that none who regard my judgement or advice will ever separate from it.'

Here we must leave the matter, conscious that Oxford had sent out—even though it did not know it, and would not have cared if it had—two of the most effective preachers of all time. 'The tears of repentance made white furrows on the blackened faces of the rough colliers' who heard Whitefield preach at Bristol. As for Wesley, he travelled up and down England, chiefly on horseback, and occasionally beyond the borders; for fifty-one years 'he contested the three kingdoms in the cause of Christ' every minute of the time and foot of the way. No man surely can ever have preached more frequently than he did.

'If you want to get into the last century,' writes Augustine Birrell, 'to feel its pulses throb beneath your finger, be content sometimes to leave the letters of Horace Walpole unturned, resist the drowsy temptation to waste your time over the learned trifles who sleep in the seventeen volumes of Nichols; nay, even deny yourself your annual reading of Boswell, or your biennial retreat with Sterne, and ride up and down the country with the greatest force of the eighteenth century in England. No man lived nearer the centre than John Wesley. Neither Clive nor Pitt, neither Mansfield nor Johnson. You cannot cut him out of our national life. No single figure influenced so many minds, no single voice touched so many hearts. No other man did such a life's work for England.' He never failed to see the inner meaning of Oxford and Cambridge. They were to him 'rivers to make glad the City of God.'

The Evangelical cause fared badly at Oxford. It was against the spirit of the place. Wesley, it must be remembered, was a sacramentarian. The Bishops even accused him of Popery. Moreover, 'enthusiasm' had spread so much that the Colleges of the second part of the eighteenth century were plainly no places for it. In 1768 six Methodists were expelled from St. Edmund Hall, *pour encourager les autres*, ostensibly because they

had attended a prayer meeting. Yet with the exception of Dr. Dixon and Dr. Crouch, the successive Principals of that Hall, there were no Oxford residents of importance who were Evangelicals before the close of the eighteenth century.

The truth is that Oxford was in a poor condition. From Wesley's time onwards for many years it was not nearly so productive as Cambridge of men who either deepened the thought or spread the appeal of religion. It has been said that Oxford 'never recovered from that sulky acquiescence with which, against its conscience, it had accepted the Hanoverian dynasty.'

William Paley (1743–1805), author of the 'Evidences of Christianity,' is the best known and most widely read of the Cambridge teachers of the time, but the commanding personality was Charles Simeon. Yet when he became incumbent of 'Holy Trinity' in 1783 he was clearly unwelcome. The seat-holders locked their pews, and the undergraduates were only too ready to pretend to religious zeal if only by protesting against a new expression of it. But Simeon won through. He had the advantage, after all, of the precedence which Eton and King's gave to a man in Cambridge; moreover, he was Vice-Provost of his College from 1790–1792. This, however, would have availed him little had he not been a man of force. He came down, as some said, like 'hailstones and coals of fire.' So great was his earnestness that it seemed to transcend his frame, and to make his gestures, never trained, grotesque. 'With outstretched arm connecting the extremity of his forefinger with the summit of his thumb, he always seemed engaged in trying to catch a fly.'

Holy Trinity at Cambridge became a fountain of inspiration for England. A group of Evangelicals, including among them William Wilberforce, gathered together at Clapham, where they were ministered to by Dr. Dealtry and John Venn, successively rectors of the parish. This group, and those in other parts of the

country who thought with it, afterwards became known as the Clapham Sect and turned to Simeon for light and leading. It may be said at once that Simeon, devoted man though he was, cannot compare with John Wesley in creative power, or with John Henry Newman in intellectual purity and force. The Evangelical Movement was in many of its aspects a mere extension of the Methodist Movement from the lower to the middle and the upper classes, and was a genuine attempt to secure the expression within the recognised area of the Church of the spiritual fervour which it so sadly lacked. Thus it kept for the most part within the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Its ministers were parish priests ; they seldom broke bounds. So far as morals were concerned, they agreed with the Methodists, but they felt the binding character in general, and in so much detail as they wished, of the Articles and the Prayer Book.

Thus the men who went out from Cambridge carried on their work in an unsensational manner. They were not much liked. For the matter of that, neither were the Methodists before them, nor the Tractarians after them. William Romaine (1714–1795), a Christ Church man, drew the poor so effectively to the Church of St. George, Hanover Square, that he was forced to resign. At St. Dunstan's in the West, where he held a Lectureship, the parishioners had to force their way to the pews through a ' ragged unsavoury multitude,' with the result that the Rector stopped Romaine from occupying the pulpit by sitting in it himself. As a rule, however, the Evangelicals did not attract the poor, but appealed rather to the rich. Romaine may have had something of the Methodist in him. He was at Christ Church in the days of the Holy Club.

Only one of the men of the three revivals ever gained high preferment in the Church of England, and that was Isaac Milner (1750–1820), who became Dean of Carlisle.

Kind-hearted, talkative, wise old man ! [writes Sir James Stephen] from the slumbers of many bygone years how easy it is to

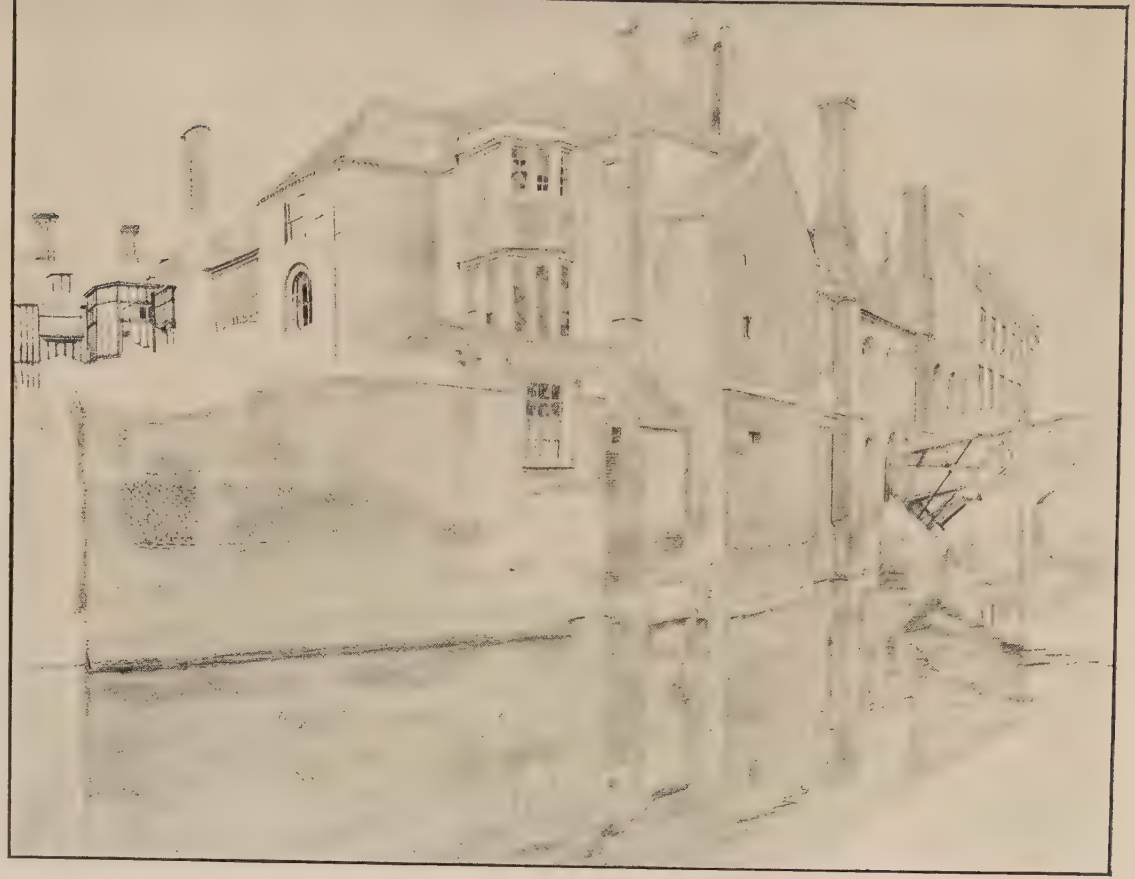
raise his image—joyful, as when he exulted over his exorcism of the clothes-tearing ghost of Sawston ; or jocund, as when he chuckled over the remembrance of the hearty box he inflicted on the ears of Lord Archibald Hamilton, who, in all the pride of pugilism, had defied the assault of unscientific knuckles; or grandiloquent, as when he reviewed the glories of his first vice-chancellorship, in which he had expelled from the Senate Lucius Catalina Frend ; or the triumphs of his second consulate, when, having thundered his philippics against Marcus Antonius Brown, he was hailed as *Pater Academiae*. Well ! he is gone, and Alma Mater has still her heads of houses, men of renown ; but if once again the table could be spread in that hospitable old dining-room at Queens', with the facetious Dean at the head of it, there is not among the incomparable wranglers, and conversing Encyclopaedias of them all, any one who would be fit to sit over against him as Croupier.

He was originally a Sizar of Queens' and ultimately became President (1788–1820). Under his sway Queens' became 'the best cultured and most fruitful nursery of the Evangelical neophytes at Cambridge.'

Henry Venn (1725–1797) was a Queens' man, in whom Simeon found 'a father, an instructor, and a bright example.' In Thomas Dykes' time,[1] Magdalene became 'the resort of young men seriously impressed with a sense of religion.' Milner, who was a mathematician, and, be it noted, a pluralist—for at one and the same time he was Lucasian Professor, President of the College, and Dean of Carlisle—had great affinity with Magdalene. Gunning pays him a doubtful compliment. 'Except when a man of his own College or Magdalene was concerned, I do not recollect to have heard any well-founded charge made against him.' This referred to the charge that he showed partiality in placing men in the Mathematical Tripos. But he was a good man in a very mixed University.

The Oxford Movement of 1833–1845 was in part the creation of the two rivers of religious influence, some aspects of which we have already considered ; the one working among the poor, the other among the well-

[1] Thomas Dykes entered Magdalene in 1786 and took an ordinary Degree Course.



QUEENS' COLLEGE, FROM THE RIVER CAM

to-do, but its origins were in no wise directly traceable to them. In some sense both the Evangelical Movement in its later aspects and the Tractarian Movement were the result of a 'revival going on all through Europe, partly following from a reaction against the state of things which politically was broken up by the French Revolution, and partly by the needs of resistance to the state of things that followed that crucial and typical turning point.'

The Evangelical Movement gathered force as the result of its direct application to immediate reform as well as from its devotion to the eternal needs of men. But John Keble, like Newman later, feared the spread of a Liberalism as a temper of mind—not, in the narrow interpretation of the term, as a party—which would shatter the Church in her inmost places. He looked round, and in his distress could see no power in the temporal Church of the day to withstand it. If only, he thought, the Church could be taken back to the Fathers and filled thereby with the Spirit which moves down the ages, then it would be free from all the things that let and hindered it. He was goaded into action by the introduction of a Bill to extinguish certain bishoprics in Ireland and to devote the revenues to secular purposes.

Apart from University life, such a man as John Keble would probably have spent his days quietly in the unnoticed performance of winning and unselfish actions. But at Oxford, and especially at Oriel, a group of men, all of them of high attainments, yet insufficient in themselves for the great task in hand, were held together, inspired and sent forth to a great spiritual adventure which, as it seemed to them, involved nothing less than the restatement of the true principles of the Church, so as to enable it to shake itself clear of the rubbish of worldly centuries and by the power of its spirit to rise free from the danger of interference by any temporal force whatsoever. The vision of the Church in Keble's mind was inclusive in the sense that even State and Government would gladly and joyously operate within

the area of its influence, owning due allegiance to the perfect rule of the Kingdom of God on earth, for no less was the Church destined to be. This being Keble's conception of the Church, he could obviously only exercise his full influence on minds predisposed to the same view. Others of those who loved him were driven so far away that permanent 'separation and suspension of intercourse' was the inevitable result. If there were Hurrell Froude 'to mouthpiece and champion his ideas,' so there was Thomas Arnold, who opened his mind to Keble in early days at Oriel, but condemned Froude's 'Remains' as having the 'predominant character' of extraordinary impudence.

Of all the Fellows of Oriel—a College which, largely owing to its system of open election to Fellowships, rose to a position of peculiar influence in the early nineteenth century—Froude, elected eleven years after Arnold, had the greatest effect on the Oxford Movement. If he antagonised Arnold — who never could have adopted a view of the Church as an organic society, nourished by a sacramental minority, but who believed passionately in the *Societas* or brotherhood of all who accepted Christ as a divine person and participated in common worship—nevertheless he interpreted Newman to Keble. He brought them to understand each other, and immediately this happened development was assured —'a sort of camaraderie arose of very outspoken people who acknowledged Keble as their master and counsellor,' and among them Newman 'gave shape, foundation, consistency, elevation, to Anglican theology.' Directly Newman 'made up his mind to force on the public mind, in a way which could not be evaded, the great article of the Creed "I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church"' the objective of the movement was clear.

This is not the place in which to discuss the inherent truth or falsity of the fundamental principles of the Oxford Movement, but to record it as an effort of an extraordinary character which could only have proceeded

from a University constituted of Colleges. Only in an independent College could views which were so much opposed to those of the University at large have developed securely ; and on the other hand, without the close association at Oriel of Fellows appointed from other Colleges the force generated would have been insufficient to affect, as it did, the whole University. There was hardly a man but found himself compelled to decide whether he was for the 'Puseyites' or against them.

As soon as its opponents were able to identify it, the young movement was subjected to the severest intellectual criticism and the most indignant moral condemnation. Dr. Arnold, in 1838, wrote deliberately that 'any mind that can turn toward them—i.e. their books and their system—with anything less than unmixed aversion appears to be already diseased.' (In 1832 Arnold had declared 'the Church, as it now stands, no human power could save.') Yet John Henry Newman was undoubtedly the most notable and interesting preacher in the University at that time, and his influence was reinforced by the profound learning and simple piety of Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800–1882), who by joining the group in 1835 gave to it 'at once a position and a name.'

There have been sermons in Oxford since Oxford began—there have never been in England so many sermons anywhere else (not even in Cambridge), but none have had a wider range than those of Newman. 'You might come away still not believing the tenets peculiar to the High Church system,' wrote Principal Shairp, 'but you would be harder than most men, if you did not feel more than ever ashamed of coarseness, selfishness, worldliness ; if you did not feel the things of faith brought closer to the soul.'

There is no opportunity in such a brief record as this to speak of Charles Marriott (1811–1858) of Balliol and Oriel, learned in the Fathers ; of Isaac Williams (1802–1865), the Trinity poet ; or of William Palmer (1803–1885) of Magdalen Hall, the ecclesiastical

antiquary. Neither can we trace the course of the movement in its successes and failures. A few outstanding events must, however, be mentioned. The Tracts, which originated at Hadleigh, were brought to an end by the publication on February 27, 1841, of Tract XC, which sought to prove that the Thirty-Nine Articles were not really irreconcilable with the dogmatic system of Catholicism or even of Roman Catholicism in its more moderate expression. There were some few in the University to whom 'the din about Tract XC seemed an empty clamour about obsolete machinery,' but the storm was furious. 'Four Tutors,' among them Archibald Campbell Tait, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, 'rushed a protest into the columns of the *Times*,' and the Heads of Colleges, as guardians of orthodoxy, published a condemnation of the Tract. This storm is the more explicable when it is remembered that the University was then regarded primarily as the guardian and defender of the Reformed Church. No one could matriculate without assenting to the Thirty-Nine Articles. The first battle in which the Tractarians were actively concerned was fought on the question of continuing the religious declarations required at matriculation, and was won by them in Convocation, an overwhelming majority thinking as they thought.

This contest brought Dr. Hampden to the front, and the subsequent controversies about his appointments as Regius Professor of Divinity (1836) and as Bishop of Hereford (1848) were great facts in University life and politics. He was obscure in style and obstinate in character; with the result that he incurred a charge of unorthodoxy which he did little to clear. The Heads brought in a proposal to deprive him of his vote in the choice of select preachers, but a long unused weapon of the Oxford armoury was brought into use. The Proctors vetoed the proposal in Convocation. Ultimately, however, deprivation was agreed to in May 1836 by 474 votes to 94. Only on one other occasion was the Proctor's Veto used, and that was on February 14,

1845, after William George Ward had been censured and degraded, as the result of his work on 'The Ideal of a Christian Church.' The excitement of the time is well portrayed by a younger brother of Dean Church, then an undergraduate at Oriel, who

> had stationed himself at a window in Broad Street, in order to view the proceedings ; and he recalls the excitement of the moment, the sight of the crowd, which still after the procession had entered, lingered round the railings that enclose the Theatre—the dull roar of the shouting which could be heard at intervals from within the building itself—and at last the appearance of the assemblage streaming out through the snow, the big figure of Ward emerging among the earliest, with his papers under his arm, to be greeted with shouts and cheers, which passed into laughter, as in his hurry he slipped and fell headlong in the snow, his papers flying in every direction.

The Tractarians, like the Methodists and Evangelicals before them, were men who were incapable of sacrificing their cause to their personal desires. They were so full of spiritual fire that they left themselves no time to consider their defects, even though, paradoxically enough, they subjected themselves to the discipline of rigorous self-examination. Just as they were, they consecrated themselves. 'All for Love or the World well lost.' Consequently it is sometimes easy to criticise them ; to see an inordinate love of power in such a man as Newman ; to be contemptuous of the vagaries of Hurrell Froude ; to wonder at the credulity of them all.

Some have speculated on what would have happened if Newman's father had turned his horse's head to Cambridge, as he was much disposed to do, on the fateful day when he took him to Oxford. Others more seriously, and perhaps more justifiably, observe with Dean Stanley, 'How different the fortunes of the Church of England might have been if Newman had been able to read German!' But there are few who can read the times who would dare to suggest that the spirit of

Newman, in its fierce intrepidity, would have been altered much by any fortuitous circumstance. His earthly course is a slight matter compared with the purity of his influence, sullied though it may appear to have been at times by the human imperfections which he would have been the first to deplore. We must leave him far away from Oxford ; far away from the snapdragons of his beloved Trinity, resting—no, he could not rest—in the courts of the Church of Rome. At one time he dreamed of a return to Oxford to found a Hall there, just as he dreamed of a more beautiful foundation than Oxford on Dublin Bay ; but this dream, like the other, never passed into the desired reality. He was in the grip of a power which could restrain his feet, even when he was most eager to run. At about the time when his scheme for a new Hall in Oxford fell through, he was seen near the Church at Littlemore, ' an old man, very poorly dressed in an old grey coat, with the collar turned up, leaning over the lych-gate, in floods of tears.' But in 1877 Trinity conferred an Honorary Fellowship—its greatest distinction—upon him. How it must have rejoiced the old man, who had written in 1863, ' Of all human things Oxford is nearest my heart ' !

There were always, and probably always will be, opposing views about these men ; but the meaner charges have dissolved in the light of time. The publication of Froude's ' Remains ' proved that they were incapable of ' conspiracy ' in its commonly accepted meaning. They were children in their outlook. Perhaps we can pass by the estimates both of antagonists and protagonists and note what Lord Haldane wrote in 1922, nearly eighty years afterwards:

> We are beginning to forget the Oxford Movement in the Church of England between 1833 and 1845. Yet it formed a splendid passage in the history of the national life, notwithstanding its failure, which we now see clearly to have been inevitable. The picture is one which has always moved me as Humanism in a very lofty form.

In ' Culture and Anarchy ' Matthew Arnold asks :

> Who will estimate how much the currents of feeling created by Dr. Newman's movements, the keen desire for beauty and sweetness which it nourished, the deep aversion which it manifested to the hardness and vulgarity of middle-class Liberalism, the strong light it turned on the hideous and grotesque illusions of middle-class Protestantism—who will estimate how much these contributed to swell the tide of secret dissatisfaction which has mined the ground under the self-confident Liberalism of the last thirty years, and has prepared the way for its sudden collapse and supersession? It is in this manner that the sentiment of Oxford for beauty and sweetness conquers, and in this manner, long may it continue to conquer.

On the other hand, the scorn of a Victorian essayist is so tremendously expressed as to give us pause :

> Spirit of George Whitefield ! How would thy voice, rolled from the secret places of thunder, have overwhelmed these puny protests against the truths, which it was the one business of thy life to proclaim, from the rising to the setting sun.

But we may suspect that Wesley, Whitefield, Simeon, and Newman were men fighting in different ways, in a unity none the less real though incomprehensible to the mind which sees through a glass darkly, the same age-long battle with the forces of evil which tend to destroy the life of man. They stand for three great modern efforts by which Oxford and Cambridge were lifted out of the lethargy into which they had sunk. It matters not that the Fellows and Scholars disliked the Methodists, tolerated the Evangelicals, and sighed with relief at the end of the Tractarian struggle. They were, nevertheless, recalled to the true purpose of their being, and set out to achieve a new excellence in the realms of the intellect. Nowhere in English life can we find finer and purer examples of devotion to the common good than among the supporters of these three movements. As spiritual adventures, they inspired the whole of English life.

The last of them, the Tractarian, was developed with such learning, skill, and devotion as to be a model for

all movements coming after it. Bound to fail! Well, so be it. England and the Church has benefited as well as the Universities. In the darkest districts of many of our great cities, as well as in the monotonous stretches of depressed rural life, many of the most devoted workers in religious and social causes look for their inspiration to the Oxford Movement. But what of its errors? They were many. At least, they were honestly exposed for all to see. A University, a Church, a nation, all learn by the errors of their sons. If error be falling short of the truth, there is little else than error in the whole history of Universities. Only one error can destroy the life of scholarship, and that is committed by men who not only fear to embark on unknown seas, but who hold back because of the comforts and rest of the shore. It is out on the sea that men must search for John Wesley, or George Whitefield, or Charles Simeon, or John Henry Newman, or John Keble, and those who inspired or were inspired by them.

NOTE

A later movement, really deserving a chapter to itself, but which has been recently examined by C. E. Raven of Emmanuel College,[1] came out of Cambridge and represented its best spirit, perhaps even more than the Evangelicalism which preceded it and in part made it possible. This movement was in some of its aspects commonly known as 'Christian Socialism.' It expressed a broad view of the importance of the moral teaching of Christ in contrast with that of any doctrinal assertion. The greatest figure associated with it in the early days was Frederick Denison Maurice (1805–1872). He was in residence at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, from 1823 to 1827, and while there was much influenced by his Tutor, Julius Hare, and gained a great deal from his intimacy with John Sterling, who helped him to found the 'Apostles' Club.'

[1] *Christian Socialism*, 1848–1854, by Charles E. Raven, M.A. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1920.

Maurice's refusal to purchase a Fellowship by conforming to the Anglican Church forced him to take up journalism, but he was by nature a preacher. At Oxford, to which he resorted in 1830 in his search for a moral and religious standpoint, he was baptised and later ordained. Henceforward, he sought to translate his ideal 'City of God,' which he beheld continually, into the terms of earth. In the 'Kingdom of Christ' he revealed his spiritual struggle and progress through the formative years of his life.

As a result of his devotion to the moral elevation of mankind, Maurice worked much with the practical reformers of his time. His greatest contribution was made in inspiring the Co-operative Movement; indeed, he and his colleagues, Neale and Hughes, gave to it a sense of spiritual direction which it has never lost.

The Working Men's College in Crowndale Road, St. Pancras, London, which he founded in 1854, is a striking memorial of his creative power. It is the noblest product of the educational revival among working men of the middle nineteenth century, which he more than anyone else helped to bring about. Because Maurice founded the College on sound lines, in harmony with the principles of his ideal 'City of God,' it still persists and develops. It has had a succession of splendid principals—Maurice, Hughes, Lubbock, Dicey, Lucas—and now has entered upon a new era in its history under the guidance of the grandson of the Founder, Sir Frederick Maurice. Within its walls the best spirit of Oxford and Cambridge finds expression, and many of those who are serving the cause of Adult Education to-day have found there not only strength and vigour but the source of their inspiration.

CHAPTER IX

A CENTURY OF DEVELOPMENT AND REFORM

The religious movements forced their way not only through Oxford and Cambridge, in which they in large measure originated, but into every recognised institution set in the national life. Everywhere a higher standard of honour and an increasing sense of public duty became apparent. This may have been the result of the rise of a new and vigorous class, composed mainly of merchants and manufacturers, created by the industrial and commercial conditions arising from the exercise of the remarkable mechanical genius of the time : a class which burst into the area hitherto occupied exclusively by the comfortable order of country gentlemen, who considered that all places of honour and profit, whether in Church, State, or University, were increased in dignity by their condescension in assuming the titles and appropriating the regularly recurring revenues. If this new state of material affairs had arisen unpermeated by religious influence, there would have been an endless time of petty strife, if not a class war, fraught with disastrous consequences. As it was, the new order sought to harmonise the idea of public service and reward with the idea of religious and social duty. In this aim the old order was anxious to co-operate, being coerced perhaps into a fitting state of mind rather than genuinely converted to the new point of view.

In no institutions were the results more quickly felt than in the Church and Universities, which were ultimately transformed by the rising spirit of the nineteenth century into places harbouring, for the great part, little other than the relics of their former luxury, and

cherishing few failings which have not been manifested by human nature, even in the best periods of its expression. So far as freedom from harmful corruption and greed is concerned, or indeed from impurity in the conduct of public affairs, the two Universities have risen to a level which is not commonly reached by institutions, except in the first flush of their youth.

The real demand made by the class whose rise we have noticed was that the Universities should provide an education which would fit their sons for profitable and lucrative occupations in life. Since many of its members were Nonconformist, special stimulus was given to the determination to overthrow the traditions involved by complete subjection to the Established Church. As we shall see, this movement met ultimately with complete success, and Oxford and Cambridge, in addition to opening their doors to people of all beliefs, provided for them opportunities of study in every kind of subject. Indeed, the unrivalled developments in scientific and literary work were largely due to the momentum given them by the men of the new class, striving to express themselves with the aid of Oxford and Cambridge.

There can be, however, as Lord Curzon points out, ' at no time any pause in the task of University Reform,' or of actual development. To stand still is to decay. To fail to respond to the movement of the age is to be ignored, if not shattered. To seek to exclude the spirit of wisdom which ' pervadeth and penetrateth all things by reason of her pureness ' is to become an obstacle on the way of life. In the nineteenth century neither Oxford nor Cambridge stood still, or failed to hear, or refused to make a way for Truth. Thus they endure, enriched in tradition and spirit by many far-sighted men and women, not stifled by crowds of obstinate obscurantists, though, truth to tell, all such have never yet been wholly banished from their courts.

In an exhaustive analysis of the necessity of ' reform from without,' a loyal son of Cambridge, Fellow of

Trinity, writes : 'I love the University and I love and respect the Society to which I am proud to say that I belong.' Wishing to support Lord Radnor's Bill for 'appointing Commissioners to enquire respecting the Statutes' of 'our University and Colleges,' he remarks characteristically, if ingenuously : 'It may be taken as a general rule that any abuse to be found at the University of Cambridge has its parallel existing at the University of Oxford in a still more aggravated form.'[1] Oxford, strangely enough, was never so vocal about her faults as Cambridge, although apparently always more convinced of sin. Open confession may after all be good for the soul.

The truth is that Oxford, as well as Cambridge, was hindered by the difficulty inherent in the possession of obsolete Statutes. The impossibility of obeying many of them tended to induce general contempt. Hardly anyone knew the codes or cared to know them. Oaths became mere forms to all but those who were before everything else loyal to principle; consequently, they left the way clear for the worst men, and not infrequently obstructed the efforts of the best. We learn from an abundance of witnesses that the business of both Universities was carried on, if the Heads were determined enough, 'in perfect contempt of the Statutes and of their approved usages.'

The Colleges consigned their Statutes to their muniment rooms, only bringing them out on formal occasions, or in order to justify a privilege ; never to condemn one. Our Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, however, became active, and discovered that in the year of grace 1837, by the Statutes of his College,

there are to be only three College washerwomen, one for the fellows, another for the scholars, and a third for the chaplains, etc.

[1] *A Historical Account of the University of Cambridge and its Colleges : in a Letter to the Earl of Radnor*, April 22, 1837, by Benjamin Dann Walsh, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, written 'in consequence of perusing the debate on the second reading of your Bill.'

Undergraduates that miss a single chapel, if they are under 18, are to be publicly birched in Hall in the presence of all the fellows ; if above 18, they are to be fined one halfpenny. The College lectures are to be delivered in Hall at 6 A.M. Every member of the College is to repeat a barbarous Latin prayer upon his knees, before he leaves his bed-room in the morning to attend chapel, and likewise a similar one at night ; and there is to be a prescribed *Latin* service in the College chapel, which, by the bye, is quite different from the ordinary Liturgy. Certain students are to be appointed under the name of ' Bible-clerks,' to read the Bible aloud during dinner-time in Hall, and all the students are in the meantime to remain perfectly silent. No person during term-time is to speak any other language than Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, except to a stranger. No student is to stand covered in the College court, or elsewhere in the College, when a M.A. is present ; and they are not to drink together in Hall, except at breakfast. *Bachelors* as well as undergraduates are to wear violet-coloured gowns. The Head lecturer, and the eight other lecturers by pairs, are to exhibit, or cause to be exhibited, as Miller explains it, five comedies or tragedies, at Christmas time, in the Hall. And to sum up all, fellows, as well as other students, are to pig together by twos, threes, and fours, in one and the same room.

It would not be becoming for him to expose Trinity without making it worse for its near neighbour and ancient rival, if not enemy, St. John's ; so he adds additional ' morceaux ' from the Johnian Statutes to the list :

The Head lecturer is to toll the bell, in person, for morning chapel, which, as in the Trinity code, is to take place at five, and the lectures to begin at six. No person is to be elected scholar (discipulus) who is either maimed or deformed. The big College bell is to be tolled every morning, from four to a quarter past four, in order to wake up any student who may be in the neighbourhood of the College. The College-barber is to shave or clip the beard of the master, fellows, etc. *weekly ;* and the table-cloths used in the Hall are also to be washed *weekly.* It is added, too, that to prevent scandal with the washerwomen, these venerable old ladies are not to enter the College ; nor, on the other hand, are any College servants to be sent with the dirty-linen bag to their houses. No ! that would be equally naughty ! The woman-kind are to come to

the College gates, for the foul clothes, either on the Monday or the Tuesday, at three p.m. precisely, and to bring them back clean at three p.m. on the Saturday. And, to conclude, a fellow, if he is a Doctor, a College preacher, or a senior, is allowed, by way of privilege, a couple of lively young scholars, instead of another fellow, to live with him in his chamber ; and it is particularly specified, that fellows and scholars, above fourteen, are not to sleep together *more* than two in a bed (bini vel singuli cubent).

All this, after all, is but the lighter side of the Statutes. The real difficulties lay in such things as the poverty clauses, the restrictions on marriage, the compulsory ordination, the requirements of ' subscription,' and the monopoly of real government by the College Heads.

A glance at Oxford in 1800 reveals an inert, almost moribund, professoriate. Lectures were offered by some of the more active of the staff, but they were seldom delivered. A little later a Lloyd [1] arose and drew the élite of the Graduates to his room in Christ Church, and in 1841 Thomas Arnold faced thronged schools ; but there was no Lloyd or Arnold in 1800. The salaries paid were meagre. Regius Professors received only £40 per annum. Oxford had no Watson who could uncannily create emoluments.

Almost every man in the place who held office did so by favour within restricted limits. At some Colleges, especially All Souls and New College, the practice of ' corrupt resignation ' at a price closed the Fellowships to poor men. Tutors were chosen from Fellows who were either kin to the Founder or came from a specific diocese, county, or school. They were, perforce, unmarried. Even when there were no clerical restrictions the tradition was effective. The undergraduate was abandoned to the tutor, who, even if he were energetic, seldom knew much beyond classics and logic. It was indeed fortunate for his pupil if he knew how to use, let alone teach, those exclusive favourites among Oxford

[1] Charles Lloyd (1784–1829) ; Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, 1822–29 ; Bishop of Oxford, 1827–29.

studies. But he allowed no rival. As for Professors, they were regarded by tutors who had failed to reach a Chair as an unwarrantable imposition on a University of Colleges.

Learned and serious work, it must be admitted, is obvious in the Biographies of the time, but it is usually work carried out by the unaided force of the undergraduate, apart from any requirements enforcing either lectures or examinations. There was no better place to idle in than a College, whether for Fellow or mere Commoner. The Servitor was perforce active, but he was fit recipient of crumbs. To his credit, he often got the loaf of learning.

The Church was the only career for which the Universities made any general attempt, not so much to educate students, as to provide them with superficial qualifications. There was no desire to widen the area of influence by drawing undergraduates other than the well-born to the Colleges ; such men did not increase the emoluments, whilst they reduced the comfort of the Fellows. Scholars, of course, came of themselves, for the magnetism of study was there, whilst books and some contemporaries, keen about learning, were always to be found. Not that there was any stress or strain in preparing students for examination. Those prescribed by the Laudian Statutes had become a mere farce, just as the Disputations conducted in bad Latin had become almost ridiculous. The candidate for a Degree in Arts was allowed to choose his own examiners. He could, and often did, select a couple of young M.A.'s, whom he entertained at a feast the night before. The examiners were expected to ask, and did ask, traditional questions, the answers to which were learned by heart from schemes, or little books provided for the purpose a few days before the examination. These were evidently no improvement on the questions on strips of paper, which the contemporaries of Nicholas Amherst had concealed in their caps eighty years before.

As we have seen, however, Oxford, ' waking from

its long neglect,' instituted examinations for a degree in 1800, thus setting the famous Honours School in motion, by which, in accordance with the judgment of the Commissioners of 1850, 'the studies of the University were first raised from their abject state.' This epoch-making reform was inspired by John Eveleigh, Provost of Oriel, Cyril Jackson, Dean of Christ Church, and John Parsons, Master of Balliol. Cambridge, anticipating Oxford in the characteristic reform by fifty years, brought about an all-round improvement in its studies by establishing the Mathematical Tripos (1747). Moreover, the fact that there was insistence on some show in the Tripos before granting a degree to unprivileged persons kept Cambridge from sinking quite so low as Oxford. It is one of the claims of Cambridge that by scholarships it was able to attract poor boys with brains from quite small schools; this would not have been possible had the University not cultivated mathematics.

From 1800 onwards both Universities were continually attacked, criticised, and defended. Newman had no hesitation in hailing Edward Copleston, then a young Fellow of Oriel, as victor in the defence of the New Oxford studies against the 'three giants of the North'[1] combined against him in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review* of 1808. The truth is that there was always much to say for both Oxford and Cambridge, by anyone who, like Copleston, Newman, or Whewell, understood them. That is, indeed, what perplexes the inquirer of to-day, who is faced by the paradox that out of these places of gluttony, where intrigue and ignorance were the normal orders of the day, there arose fine scholars and distinguished men of affairs. Yet he may well remember that arrogance did not prevent the display of scholarship and of almost prophetic reforming zeal on the part of Bentley, and that an inordinate love of the bottle seems to have had little or no deleterious effect on the brilliant work of Porson.

It was easy for Copleston to refute the grave charges

[1] Professor Playfair; Lord Jeffrey; Rev. Sydney Smith.

made against scholarship, because they were so general in their terms, but they were none the less true in the sense in which they were made. Thus it was stated that, in the Oxford of 1808, 'the dictates of Aristotle' were 'still listened to as infallible decrees,' that 'the infancy of Science' was 'mistaken for maturity,' that 'the mathematical sciences have never flourished' there, and that the 'scholar has no means of advancing beyond the elements of geometry.' The *Edinburgh Review* of 1808 is, after all, only the mild forerunner of the Mark Pattison of 1850.

From 1831–1836 Sir William Hamilton brought the triple experience of Glasgow, Balliol, and Edinburgh to bear upon the problem of Reform, using still the hospitable pages of the *Edinburgh Review*. He fell, with no uncertain vigour, upon Whewell, who published in 1835 a pamphlet on 'Thoughts on the Study of Mathematics as a part of a Liberal Education,' thus presenting the reformer with a cudgel quickly applied to the back of Cambridge.

> In opposition to the general opinion of the learned world,—in opposition to the practice of all other Universities, past or present,—in opposition even to its oaths and statutes, the University of Cambridge stands alone in *now* making mathematical science the principal object of the whole liberal education it affords; and mathematical skill the sole condition of the one tripos of its honours, and the necessary passport to the other: thus restricting to the narrowest proficiency all places of distinction and emolument in University and College, to which such honours constitute a claim:—thus also leaving the immense majority of its alumni without incitement, and the most arduous and important studies void of encouragement and reward.

The College tutors, Hamilton affirmed, 'taught not what the ends of education, not what the ends of science prescribe,' but only 'that they were capable of teaching.' He urged passionately that University and professional teaching should be lifted out of the depressed and ineffective state into which it had been forced by the

Colleges ; and should be strengthened in order that learning and science may be freed. 'The Cambridge Colleges were about the last seminaries,' he believed, 'throughout Europe in which the Newtonian doctrine superseded the Cartesian, and this too in opposition to the professorial authority of Newton himself and of his successors in the Public Chair.' Such a statement would be incredible if it were not well authenticated. The Trinity Seniority dozed on, unconscious of the developments in their midst.

Hamilton held that since the Crown, by its imprudence, had bestowed on 'a private body, like the Heads, the exclusive guardianship of the Statutes, and the initiative of every legal measure,' it was the duty of the Crown to restore the Universities through a Royal or Parliamentary visitation. As a result of this suggestion a whole literature on University Reform sprang into being ; pamphlet responded to pamphlet. The rights of the Crown, or of Parliament, or of any power whatsoever to interfere with the Universities were explored to the uttermost corners. 'Can the State legally or constitutionally interfere with the Universities and Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge ?'[1] was asked again and again in the late 'thirties. The fear was not so much of the Sovereign as possessing an independent legislative existence (those days were over), but of the danger that 'because a blind acquiescence in the illegal exercise of the kingly power would only embolden an unscrupulous Minister to use the prerogatives of the Crown against the religion and liberties of his country.'

We have seen that the Earl of Radnor, by introducing a Bill for Reform in 1837, occasioned the writing of the remarkable and outspoken letter of Mr. Dann Walsh. The Earl finally withdrew a motion for the appointment of a Select Committee, because the two Chancellors

[1] *Brief Historical Notice of the Interference of the Crown in the Affairs of the English Universities,* by Geo. Elwes Corrice, B.D., 1839.

intimated that the Colleges were ready, with the help of their Visitors, to reform themselves. Thus 'Reform from within' became the accepted order of the day. There were two paths for reformers, one leading to development of studies, the other to the revision of the Statutes. No one who examines Oxford and Cambridge during the years 1800–1850 can doubt that the former was well trod; but the latter was impassable for all but the most acute legal minds, inspired by determined zeal.

At Oxford the Examination Statutes, after a few years, gave rise to an appreciable Honours School, which was divided in 1808 into three classes, and in 1831 into four. The first man to get a Double First was Sir Robert Peel. He was followed by such men as Keble and Gladstone. A certain, if minute, degree of proficiency was required for a 'pass degree.' Balliol laid the foundation of its future distinction by throwing its scholarships open to all comers, while Oriel attracted the ablest men of the whole University by doing likewise with its Fellowships. The two original honours schools, 'Literae Humaniores,' commonly known in the final stage as 'Greats,' and 'Disciplinae Mathematicae et Physicae,' called 'Mathematics,' remained as the only schools until 1850, when two new schools, 'Law and Modern History' and 'Physical Science,' were authorised.

So Oxford could move, shackled though she was and much as her sons loved the old ways and the old things. There is a characteristic utterance of Dean Burgon, then a Fellow of Oriel, in a letter of December 7, 1849:

> I can but fear the worst, a majority of fourteen in Convocation voted in favour of the establishment of a fourth school—namely Modern History. We did indeed by a large majority reject the details of this novelty, but the principle has been admitted—yielded to the pressure from without—and I can but think it is a most dangerous step. Denison spoke well, and his 'Nolumus Germanizari'—(we will not that the University of England should be

Germanized)—elicited a very hearty cheer. We all flatter ourselves that we are in most conservative trim, but rightly or wrongly we have fallen into the weakness of yielding to the spirit of the age.

The ever-present fear in the mind of the University conservative then, as now, is that he should yield to the 'spirit of the age.' But as for Burgon, suffering depression by what, after all, was the spontaneous action of Oxford itself, he was reduced to impotent though eloquent fury when only two years later a Liberal Government authorised a Royal Commission on the University.

Mark Pattison (1813–1884), later Rector of Exeter, who adopted a liberal attitude in religious problems, as a reaction against Tractarianism, took up an enthusiastic position in favour of reform by anyone. The contrast which he drew between Oxford in 1840 and 1850 is forceful enough :

> If any Oxford man had gone to sleep in 1840 and had wakened up in 1850 he would have found himself in a totally new world. In 1846 we were in old Tory Oxford, not somnolent, because it was as fiercely debating as in the days of Henry IV its eternal Church question. There were Tory majorities in all the colleges ; there was unquestioning satisfaction in the tutorial system, i.e. one man teaching everybody everything, the same belief that all knowledge was shut up between the covers of four Greek and four Latin books ; the same humdrum questions asked in the examinations and the same arts of evasive reply. In 1850 all this was changed as by the wand of a magician. The dead majorities of heads and seniors which had sat like lead on the energies of young tutors had melted away. Theology was totally banished from the Common Room and even from private conversation. Very free opinions on all subjects were rife, there was a prevailing dissatisfaction with our boasted tutorial system. A restless fever of change had spread through the Colleges—the wonder-working phrase 'University reform' had been uttered and that in the House of Commons. The sound seemed to breathe new life into us. We against reform ! Why it was the very thing we had been so long sighing for ; we were ready to reform a great deal—everything—only show us how to set about it and give us the necessary powers.

Mark Pattison himself, by the force of his reaction, passed at least for a time out of the area of the Church; but he can only be thought of in connection with the group of brilliant Broad Churchmen, as they were called, who did so much to banish acute theological controversy and to prepare the way for the real valuation of those critical and scientific developments which were so marked a characteristic of the later nineteenth century.

Cambridge, being so much less cumbered by Church affairs, appears to have been much more active in its attempts to revise the University and College Statutes than Oxford, in spite of the efforts of some Colleges, such as New College, which called in its Visitor, who, 'after careful consideration and taking legal advice . . . informed the College that, while no power but Parliament could modify the Statutes,' certain things might lawfully be done.

Immediately after Lord Radnor's Bill, Trinity, Cambridge, with characteristic honesty, faced the problem. The College was, however, in a dilemma. The oath of the Fellows 'seemed to preclude the possibility of inviting or accepting any external interference; yet there was a certain awkwardness in employing their own authority to bring about an alteration of that which they had bound themselves to preserve and to execute.' In February 1843 the Royal Consent was given to revised Statutes, the result of much labour and some tribulation. Admittedly no attempt was made 'to place the laws of the College on the best possible footing,' but at least the glaring, and indeed amusing, clauses extracted, as we have already noticed, by the industry of Mr. Dann Walsh, were eliminated.

The College possessed in these critical years two remarkable men, Adam Sedgwick, the geologist, and William Whewell, the historian of 'the Inductive Sciences.' The former was a source of inspiration in the Society of which he was for a time Vice-Master. His now-forgotten discourse on the 'Studies of the University,' published in 1833, is one of the most

remarkable academic documents of that or any other time. He will also be remembered as a friend and teacher of Charles Darwin. These two men of science were possessed of width of mind at a time when narrowness was often an assumed virtue, if not a natural vice. They were largely responsible for the institution of the Natural Science Tripos and the Moral Science Tripos in 1850. Prior to this a Classical Tripos had been instituted in 1824, but it was only open to those who had already achieved Mathematical Honours.

Whewell in later life 'became strongly conservative and antagonistic to all proposed reforms,' but not before he had weathered the first stormy days of the Royal Commission and had done not a little to help on its work. He was a declared enemy of the system of private coaching, which, largely owing to the competitive strife of the Mathematical Tripos, had established itself at Cambridge in a way undreamed of at Oxford. A sum of about £50,000 per annum, so it was alleged in evidence, was paid out by undergraduates in this way. On March 7, 1849, a Syndicate was authorised by Grace of the Senate to revise the Statutes of the whole University. It was reappointed in 1850, and again in 1851.

Thus Cambridge was in a favourable position to approach with effect the Commission [1] appointed on the instance of Lord John Russell, simultaneously with that on Oxford [2] in August 1850. Both Universities protested against extraneous interference. Remonstrances were addressed by Senate and Convocation to the respec-

[1] The Cambridge Commissioners were Dr. John Graham (Bishop of Chester), Dr. Peacock (Dean of Ely), Sir John Herschell, Sir John Romilly, and Professor Adam Sedgwick. The Rev. W. H. Bateson (Public Orator and Resident of St. John's College) was appointed Secretary.

[2] The Oxford Commissioners were Dr. Samuel Hinds (Bishop of Norwich), Dr. A. C. Tait (then Dean of Carlisle), Dr. Jeune (Master of Pembroke College), Dr. Liddell (Head Master of Westminster), J. L. Dampier, Professor Baden Powell, and the Rev. G. H. S. Johnson. The Rev. A. P. Stanley was appointed Secretary and Mr. Goldwin Smith Assistant Secretary.

tive Chancellors. Oxford had secured as Chancellor the great Duke, who was said to command majorities in the House of Lords ; while Cambridge, wiser, as it fancied, in so difficult a generation, had wooed and won the protection of Royalty itself (the Prince Consort was elected Chancellor in 1847, mainly on the initiative of Whewell), and felt safe under the shadow of the Throne.

The Heads of Colleges were in a state of great and unanimous perturbation. They knew that they were in the evening of their day. At Oxford 'Golgotha'[1] would know its 'Sculls'[2] (or 'Skulls') no more, while 'Caput' would no longer be the exclusive instrument of the dignified occupants of 'Golgotha'[3] in St. Mary the Great at Cambridge. The power of the Heads was more disputed, because less clear, at Cambridge than at Oxford. In both Universities they dwelt as a class apart, eating and drinking freely. Contrary to Statutes,[4] although usually possessing dispensations, they took wives to themselves, who were, however, carefully excluded from the College rooms, and at times even from undue appearance in the Quadrangles. Apart from their matrimonial habits, they were as 'gods on Mount Olympus.' Even the most enlightened and progressive men, like Cyril Jackson of Christ Church or William Whewell of Trinity, were unapproachable by tutors, much less undergraduates, except in the approved form and manner. Every hat went off in Tom Quad when the Dean entered it. It is true that Jackson had imitators, but never a successor. No Dean after him, try as he might, could detach himself from the rest of the College in the Jacksonian manner, even in the surpliced assemblies of the Cathedral. Charles Henry Hall (1763–

[1] The rooms in the old Clarendon where the Heads used to meet.

[2] The designation of 'Heads' by those who were not, or who did not expect to be, Heads.

[3] The Gallery in St. Mary's Church devoted to the Heads.

[4] By the Trinity College Code it was enacted 'that if either the Master of the College or any Fellow shall have contracted marriage (*matrimonium contrasserit*) he is immediately to vacate his office.'

1827), who followed him, 'was a great imitator.' 'I can see him now,' writes an observer, 'marching down Christ Church Hall at Collections with the Senior Censor by his side. His hand planted in the belt of his cassock, and his cap almost perched upon the bridge of his nose.' The greatest of them all was Henry George Liddell, who reigned—that is the word—from 1855–1891. He has been described as 'a noble ship under reef sail in a stormy sea.'

Whewell never allowed an undergraduate to sit down, unadmonished, in his presence. It is told of him, that one day, being forced to take shelter under the friendly umbrella of an undergraduate, and fearful lest his benefactor should so far forget himself as to speak, he at once told him, in official voice, that he allowed no communications with himself other than through a tutor.

> If you through the realms of space should have travelled,
> And of nebulous films the remotest unravelled,
> You'll find, as you tread on the bounds of infinity,
> That God's greatest work is the Master of Trinity.

Yet Whewell was the son of a carpenter, who let him go to school with reluctance because he needed his help in his workshop. It is remarkable that William Everett, who was a Commoner of Trinity in Whewell's time, had nothing to tell about him in his Lowell Lectures of 1864. He simply refers to him as the venerable Head of the College. But perhaps this is not so remarkable in the light of the following story. Whewell one day gave his servant a list of the names of certain of his pupils whom he wished to see at a wine party after Hall. Among the names was that of an undergraduate who had died some weeks before. 'Mr. Smith, sir, why he died last term, sir,' objected the man. 'You ought to tell me when my pupils die,' replied the Master sternly.

The Cambridge position will repay a little closer examination. In conformity with the Forty-first Chapter of the Third Tudor Code, the Heads of House, and, as it turned out in practice, the Vice-Chancellor, often

appointed a few months after his election to his Headship,[1] had the full and entire power of electing five persons annually, each of whom, as well as the Vice-Chancellor, could negative any Grace that it might be proposed to bring before the Senate, even if every single member of the Senate, except himself, were in favour of it. The Proctor's Veto at Oxford, used, as we have seen in the Tractarian struggles, was effective in the same way, but there was never any danger of its use becoming customary. It does not appear that Cambridge accepted the Statutes of Elizabeth with gratitude. Their promulgation led to unseemly disputation. Whitgift, Master of Trinity, applied to Burleigh for a code. 'He wished to curb many of the younger sort of Fellows and Scholars that were disobedient to the Heads.' The bulk of the Regents and Non-Regents joined in a counter-petition to Burleigh, but the Heads fought for and secured their power; they made it appear that it was the Queen's prerogative and not their own that was at stake. They stopped at no barrier, and accused the Proctors and Masters, both Regent and Non-Regent, of many untoward practices, notably of 'wearing very unseemly ruffs at their hands, and great galliguskins and barrelled hose stuffed with horsetails, and skabilonians, and knit nether-stocks too fine for scholars.' However, what the Heads secured legally or illegally, wisely or unwisely, in the reign of Elizabeth, they lost in the reign of Victoria.

In spite of Dr. Whewell's assurance to Dr. Hawkins,

[1] 'In theory any graduate of a degree not inferior to that of Master of Arts was eligible for election as Vice-Chancellor; but by the eighteenth century it had become a well-established practice only to nominate Heads of Houses, and, indeed, to reduce the nomination and election to a mere form by invariably appointing the senior in degree among those Heads of Houses who had not already served as Vice-Chancellor. . . . It not infrequently happened that a recently-appointed Master of a College, who had long been absent from the University and was totally unacquainted with its business, found himself Vice-Chancellor within two or three months of becoming a Head.'—*The University of Cambridge in the Eighteenth Century*, by D. A. Winstanley.

of Oriel, 'that there were not five resident graduates at Cambridge who wished to see the Commission appointed,' in spite of the 'extreme grief' of Prince Albert, and of the vigorous opposition of the Duke of Wellington, both Commissions 'sat to brew' their 'revolutionary measures' during 1851. 'Oxford, I fear,' writes Burgon, 'has seen her best days. Her sun has set for ever. She never can be what she has been, the great nursery of the Church.' But that was in 1854, after the Commissions had reported. The Oxford Heads consulted Counsel as to the legality of the Commission, and were reinforced by Counsel's opinion in their determination to give no evidence and to yield no information. This their successors regretted, and welcomed the necessary subsequent Commission of 1877.

In literary merit and style the Report of the Oxford Commission was far superior to the contemporary report on Cambridge. It had the advantage of having for its Secretary one of the most graphic historians of his time, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley. It is, indeed, a document of entrancing interest, and one which cannot possibly be ignored by any student of the Victorian age. But that was always the way of Oxford; where Cambridge would use only a flyleaf, Oxford would fill a pamphlet. The results, however, were broadly similar, and both places received new life from the spirit of the age.

The professorial system was enlarged and strengthened. New professorships were founded and the endowment of old ones increased, out of the revenues of certain Colleges, and the powers of the University, as distinct from those of the Colleges, were strengthened. The Universities were authorised to introduce students not residing in Colleges, with the result that the non-collegiate system ultimately grew up in both places. The provisions giving power to establish Halls were, however, largely abortive. Scholarships were increased, and local school and family restrictions on Scholarships, and consequently on Fellowships, were removed. Out of 500 Fellowships at Oxford, only 22, at Balliol and

Oriel, were open previously to unfettered competition. Religious tests were removed from undergraduates and Bachelors.

Discussion on the Commission's Report at Cambridge centred mainly on the tenure of Fellowships with their celibate and ordination restrictions, and as to whether it was right to force Colleges to pay a tax to the University. The Senate established a new Syndicate to revise the Statutes, but the revision was never submitted for its consent, because the Government stepped in first and in 1855 presented to Parliament a Cambridge University Bill, on lines similar to the Oxford University Act of 1854. The Bill was passed in 1856, and an Executive or Statutory Commission was appointed similar to that already in existence at Oxford. This procedure had been suggested by the Cambridge Commission.

Henceforth the governing bodies at Oxford and Cambridge were broadly similar. The ultimate power rested in both places with the Masters, Regent and Non-Regent, whose Houses were unified in Convocation or Senate, while executive power was granted to the respective Councils, 'mainly elective by the residents.' Oxford had in addition a legislative House of Congregation,[1] made up mainly of resident M.A.'s, which debated most measures before they reached Convocation, whereas the similar body at Cambridge, the Electoral Roll, merely prepared the roll of members of the Senate, and had no legislative power. Thus, while a new Oxford Statute had to be passed, or amended and passed, by the House of Congregation before going before Convocation, a new Cambridge Grace went direct from the Council of the Senate to the Senate itself. But constitutions are wearisome in the making and demand detailed study if they are to be understood. That is not our business.

[1] A separate body, known as the Ancient House of Congregation, which is supposed to have been allowed to remain by a legislative lapse, is concerned solely with the granting of degrees.

It is time to notice some of the main general effects of the Commissions. No one can doubt that many obsolete restrictions were removed. The first steps were taken to free both Universities and Colleges from the exclusive control of the Church of England. It was contended, on the one hand, that the Universities never were sectarian institutions, but were originally national establishments, open to men of every sect. This argument is based upon the fact that there 'is no vestige whatever' in the ancient code of Cambridge, for example, of any religious test being exacted; but it is quite certain that no adherent of an heretical sect, if there were such in early days, would ever have dreamed of making his heresy known in either Oxford or Cambridge, if he really desired to live. The first official martyrs were the Lollards, in the reign of Henry IV.

The Colleges were undoubtedly consecrated to the service of the Faith, and no one could enter a University except through a College. When Adam de Brome founded Oriel, he adopted the view of Walter de Merton, and declared that his Royal Master and he had in view 'the honour of the Church, whose ministrations should be committed to faithful men, who may shine like stars in their watches and instruct the people, not only with their lips but in their lives.' Colleges were in fact mainly designed, as we have seen, for the education of the parochial as distinguished from the monastic clergy. The appeal, which those who opposed the suggested reforms made in 1854 to the intentions of the Founders, would have been more convincing, however, had there been no Reformation. The imposition of Tests became very obvious in those years. The Tudors varied them according to their predilections. 'King Edward weeded out the Catholics, Queen Mary weeded them in again, Queen Elizabeth weeded them out a second time.' In the long run, both Universities became seminaries of the Church of England, Oxford demanding subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles and the Three Articles of the Thirty-sixth Canon. When subscription to the Three

Articles was forced upon graduates of Cambridge, that University found itself similarly fettered, for that Canon required the recognition of the royal supremacy in Church and State, the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and the acknowledgment of the Thirty-nine Articles, 'as agreeable to the word of God.' This oath was not, however, usually required of Cambridge Matriculants.[1]

Still, without doubt, the view that the Church was being ousted from her old-time rights was correct, though when it was added that the Universities would be dechristianised by the abolition of the Tests, and that the 'floodgate of infidelity was being opened,' quite another issue was raised. The aim of the reformers, on the contrary, was to bring Christians of other Churches into the Universities, and the interchange of thought which resulted led to an increase of vitality within the Anglican communion itself. We can, however, sympathise with men like Hawkins and Burgon, even when they appear to be fighting for privilege against progress. They were so honest about it all. But the honesty of their protestations was not comparable in effect to the courage of Henry Sidgwick, who vacated his Fellowship at Trinity in 1869 because he could no longer feel himself to be a *bona fide* member of the Church of England. This did much to settle the Test question, 'for in England,' as Bryce said, 'concrete cases of hardship are more powerful incitements to reform than obsolete arguments.'

The complete work of opening the Universities, with

[1] On June 30, 1613, James I induced the University to pass a Grace to the effect that 'from henceforth no man shall have granted unto him the degree either of Bachelor in Divinity, or of Doctor in any Faculty, Divinity, Law, or Physick, unless he shall first, and before the propounding of his said grace to the body of the University, in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor or his deputy for the time being, subscribe to the aforesaid three articles contained in the aforesaid six and thirtieth canon, in such manner and form as in the said canon is expressed and required.' Some modification of this requirement was made in favour of Bachelors towards the end of the eighteenth century.

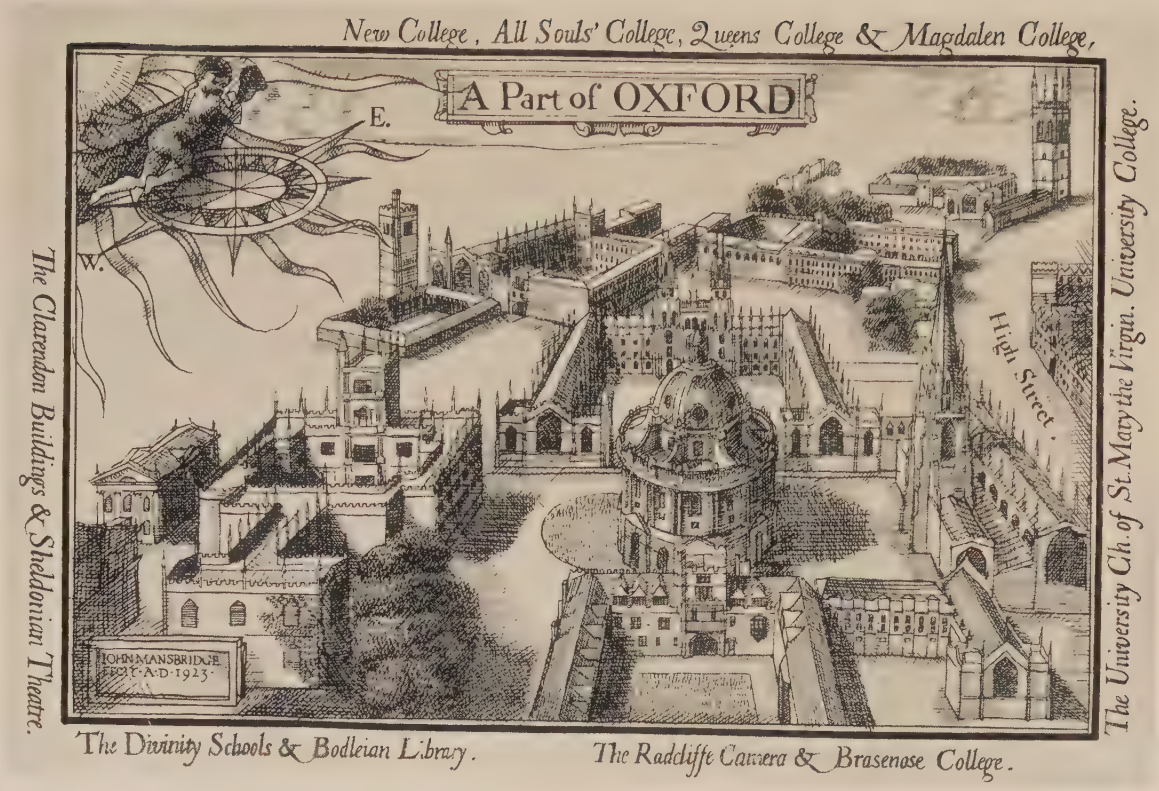
their privileges and offices, to all and sundry, from whatever religion, nation or race, was practically ensured in 1871 by the Universities Test Act,[1] and was completed by the Executive Commission of 1877, which abolished most of the clerical restrictions that still remained. There were then left only the obvious cases of Christ Church, which is in part a Cathedral foundation, and recent religious foundations. It was not, however, till 1920 that Oxford opened the Divinity Degrees, following the example which Cambridge set in 1915. 'The quiet clerical Oxford and Cambridge of fifty years ago (1860) exist no longer. The Universities are the homes of new ideas, not of undistinguished orthodoxy.'

Henceforth the leading Christian teachers of England could look back at Oxford or Cambridge as to their *Alma Mater*, and the bitterness arising from their sectarian exclusiveness was reduced to a minimum. Once again, also, Roman Catholics could hold office in the Colleges, which to them are interwoven with the traditions of their faith. The way was opened also for the recognition of Halls, consecrated definitely to denominational purposes.

The 1850 Commissioners were genuine in their desire to open the University to a much larger and poorer class. They wished to make a way for talent, no matter whether it came from the cottage or the palace—*carrière ouverte aux talents*. But they failed to achieve their object, as all have failed who since their time have had to do with the matter. So much so that, as we have seen, taking both Universities as a whole, and Oxford especially, their success in attracting and holding poor students was less during the latter half of the nineteenth century than at any other time of their history.

In so far as the poor men lost in this way to the Universities were of inferior parts, only able to lumber

[1] Lord John Russell's University Act of 1854 (Oxford) abolished religious tests at Matriculation for degrees of B.A., B.C.L., B.M. It admitted Dissenters as students but denied them the M.A. degree. The Cambridge Act likewise abolished tests at Matriculation for B.A. The Lords stopped it affecting M.A.



New College, All Souls' College, Queens College & Magdalen College,

The University Ch. of St. Mary the Virgin. University College.

The Clarendon Buildings & Sheldonian Theatre.

The Divinity Schools & Bodleian Library.

The Radcliffe Camera & Brasenose College.

into a pulpit or a schoolroom on the strength of a degree, not much harm was done ; but with such disappeared many men of real ability, who, because of inferior tuition, as compared with that provided in the great Public Schools, found the open classical scholarships entirely out of their reach. They had a better chance in the scholarships at Cambridge, because on the whole mathematical ability could be developed to a higher standard than classical in local grammar schools. Even so, a Whewell of 1860 would probably have been, not Master of Trinity, but a carpenter such as we should have liked to employ, unless he had become a trade union leader. Yet Trinity never actually turned its back on the poor scholar, and Cambridge retained its Sizars when Oxford jettisoned its Servitors. Perhaps Oxford forgot its poor Servitors and Scholars more completely than Cambridge, which was ever consistent in practice, even when it altered formularies. Oxford concentrated its strength and indignation in 1854 upon the damage to the Faith, and only dragged in the injustice to ' poor scholars ' as an additional rod with which to beat the infidel.

Anyhow, the fact remains that from 1850 to 1900 the poor boy of parts had no chance of getting either to Oxford or to Cambridge unless he happened to be in a place towards which the Colleges recognised a special duty or where the schools had been strong enough to hold to their time-honoured privileges. The number of ' close ' scholarships was reduced as the result of the Commissions.

Nowhere, not even in Keble College, is it at this instant possible to procure the full benefits of an University education, except at a cost which is simply ruinous to persons of slender resources ; utterly unapproachable by the actually *poor*. No doubt, if a youth is able to compete successfully for a ' Scholarship,' the case is different ; but how can such a result be expected for one who had enjoyed no early advantages at all ? To insist therefore that it is as fair for one as for another, that benefactions of this class (worth from £70 to £100 a year) should be the rewards of '*merit*,'—is to

talk nonsense. It is *no* '*merit*' *whatever* if a youth of 18, from the sixth form of one of our public schools, produces a vastly better Greek or Latin exercise than a youth of 20 or 21 who has blundered his way into the mysteries of Greek and Latin composition with few external helps, or none. Does not 'merit' dwell rather with him who, fired with a sublime ambition, and in resolute defiance of 'Poverty's unconquerable bar,' presses forward,—as if encouraged by the beckoning of a viewless hand : secretly conscious of power, and only asking that he may have the means of existence provided him, and be allowed 'fair play'? . . . 'Time and I against any two!' says the Spanish proverb. *Who*, at some time or other of his life, has not felt it?

It was left to the 1920 Commission to attempt to redress the evil, but fortunately with a task made easier because of the facilities afforded by the Education Act of 1902, which empowered Local Education Authorities to grant scholarships.

The last half of the century—even apart from 'Reform from without,' which became an accepted though hated principle—was marked by much progress. At Cambridge, Henry Sidgwick (1838–1900), Coutts Trotter (1837–1887), and Henry Jackson (1839–1921) were a triumvirate which lifted Trinity to a level of disinterested life, and inspired it to take steps to strengthen the position of the University, which was already improved by the compulsory Tax on Colleges, imposed in 1877. As the result of this progressive spirit and of financial reconstruction, the interests of Universities and Colleges became more unified. Peterhouse and St. John's, the ancient rivals of Trinity in the Mathematical Tripos, never allowed themselves to slip back, whilst Caius helped to advance medical science through the services mainly of Sir George Paget (1809–1892), who found a compeer in Sir George Murray Humphry, of Downing (1820–1896). The 400 students of 1800 had risen to 1,500 in 1850, and had become nearly 3,000 in 1900.

Theological learning advanced side by side with scientific investigation. The Cambridge Three—Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort—helped to free Christian

thought from the dead weight of German destructive criticism. Their influence on the Cambridge Theological Schools is obvious. The tale of their achievements is, however, a long one.

Sidgwick was balanced at Oxford by Thomas Hill Green,[1] who died in 1882, but not before he had re-inspired the Oxford Philosophy School, and sent out rare spirits like Arnold Toynbee to reveal how social well-being is to be secured. From Oriel, as in new succession, went out Edward Vansittart Neale and Tom Hughes, to help lift the Co-operative Movement of the working class on to high levels of commercial morality and idealism. They are commemorated at the College by scholarships founded by the Co-operators whom they served. Benjamin Jowett (1817–1893), an 'orthodox' heretic, viewed the Oxford scene with a detached though reverential eye, and built up Balliol by making facilities for scholars as such, whether from the street or from the public school. As at Cambridge, theology was not depressed in these days. The 'Lux Mundi School' (the heterodoxy of which became the orthodoxy of the twentieth century), if not so meticulously accurate as the Cambridge Three, added force and inspiration to a Church which was seeking to obtain the support and

[1] T. H. Green 'had been a Fellow of Balliol for twenty years or more, and for above twelve years he was Tutor in Philosophy in the College. His lectures on the Ethics of Aristotle were said to be quite the best lectures given in his time. And his personal influence was even greater than his influence as a Lecturer. "I never go to see Green without feeling that I ought to be ashamed of myself, and, by Jove, I am ashamed of myself," an undergraduate of those days said to me. It was not by any peculiar grace of speech or manner that he acquired this influence; his instinct was to be silent and shun society: and few of his sayings are recorded. His strong and simple character seemed to need no words to express it; he lived his thoughts, not "moving about in worlds unrealised," but carrying his convictions into practice: shrewd also, and sensible, and not without a vein of humour. A few years before his death he was elected to Whyte's Chair of Moral Philosophy, and he at once became the most impressive of Oxford Professors. His lecture-rooms were full, and his pupils enthusiastic. I do not think that they all understood him, but they all regarded him with love and honour.'—*Life of Benjamin Jowett.*

to serve the needs not of one class only but of the whole nation. Westcott and Scott Holland found unity in the higher reaches of Christian practice. Acland and Rolleston kept Oxford in line with Cambridge as regards medical development. But here also, as at Cambridge, the tale is a long one. 'There will always be dispute in each generation as to when Oxford was at its best, but I can conceive,' writes John Buchan, 'a good case being presented for the years when Thomas Hill Green, Lewis Nettleship, Mark Pattison, Henry Butcher, and Walter Pater might be met with any day in the High.'

In the extension of their borders the activities of both Universities in regard to sending lecturers to remote towns, and in the facilities afforded to women, take a large place, but both these developments demand close consideration.

The twentieth century opened with renewed demands for reform. These stirred Oxford more than Cambridge, but the actions of both have been strangely uniform. In the opening of Divinity Degrees Cambridge came first, Oxford followed; it was so also in the abolition of Compulsory Greek in the Responsions and Previous examinations. On the other hand, Oxford was the first to admit women to the full privileges of the University, and her action has precipitated a crisis not yet fully developed at Cambridge.

An Oxford man, Dr. Gore, then Bishop of Birmingham, took action in the House of Lords in July 1907, which led to the Chancellor of Oxford, Lord Curzon, attempting to act as a sort of Royal Commission by himself. He produced a singularly able document, which resulted in much discussion and in some valuable improvements of administration, but which produced little change in the fundamental condition of the University as it was prior to the commencement of the European War in 1914. The old questions, the University as against the Colleges, the admission of poor men, the conditions attached to scholarships, and the need for a University Entry Examination, all were

discussed by the Chancellor, as they presented themselves in the early twentieth century, and solutions have been proposed by the 1919 Commission, whose report will press for consideration after a survey of the adaptation of the Universities to the needs of a democratic community.

CHAPTER X

ADAPTATION TO A DEMOCRATIC AGE

University administrators and teachers have always been afraid lest they should conform too rapidly, or too weakly, to the religious, social, or political movements in the world about them. When men feel that they have proved a thing and found it good, they are reluctant to give it up. It is also too true that the possessors of vested interests in knowledge, as in material things, tend to fight furiously against those who would introduce a new order. Anyone who has considered the history of Universities must have come to the conclusion that in these matters they are no exceptions to the general rule. But always the reflection must be made that in both Oxford and Cambridge instances of almost every kind of human action can be discovered ; they are so vast and comprehensive in the area of their thought and influence. Thus, there could at any time have been found men who resisted every change, however good, side by side with others who were eager to embark on new adventures and enterprises, careless of their own interests, or indeed of the lesser interests of the society, simply because they were full of a passion for the extension of the bounds of knowledge. During the time intervening between the last of the nineteenth-century Commissions and the twentieth-century Commission there are abundant instances of the working of two forces, one of which would retain Oxford and Cambridge as they are, and the other which would make them responsive to the legitimate aspirations of the community.

Now let it be said at once that Oxford and Cambridge

have no right to do anything in connection with the world outside them unless by so doing they strengthen themselves, not in their material resources but in the purity and power of their mind and spirit. This is ultimately the test by which the admission of women students to full membership, and the extension of the teaching activity of the University to towns remote from their immediate areas, must be judged. Equally, also, the abolition of Greek as an inviolable requirement of admission to degree courses must submit to the same test. These are the matters we propose to consider, and, as in duty bound, we shall devote by far the greater amount of attention to problems bound up with the extension of University teaching to working men and women.

But, first, the abolition of Greek as a condition of matriculation, which came into effect at Cambridge by a Vote passed on January 17, 1919, and at Oxford by a Statute passed on March 2, 1920, after much heart-burning and discussion, opens the Universities to students of a type that found the language an obstacle. Of course, a boy who had not learned Greek, if he obtained admission to the University on other grounds, in a very few months could learn sufficient either to pass Responsions at Oxford or the Little-Go at Cambridge, but it was not a dignified procedure, and it did not strengthen Classics at either University. At the same time, the finest education which England has yet devised for certain minds is that ending in the School of 'Greats' at Oxford, which is preponderantly classical. If the stream of undergraduates with suitable abilities feeding this School became narrower, then an irreparable evil would be perpetrated; but this need not be so if those who believe in classical education will be up and doing, and will prove its virtues to the English people. It should be established thoroughly in schools which are within the reach of every child, not because of University requirements but because it is necessary to the very advancement of education in the nation. That schools are dropping elementary Greek,

that in some Public Schools it is at any rate made an optional subject, is an actual fact ; but a diminution in the numbers of those studying Greek need not concern us, provided always that those who ought to study it do so. The English working man is interested in Ancient Greece and Rome ; left to himself he is attracted by it as by few other things. If the Society for Hellenic Studies or the Classical Association will see that opportunities for hearing and learning about Greek and Roman history and philosophy are widespread, they will secure ultimately that classical studies are placed within the reach of every child.

The appearance of Oxford has greatly changed since 1920, when women were admitted to full membership and privileges. ' They study every subject,' writes the Sub-Rector of Exeter, a hostile critic, ' they obtain every degree. Damsels adorned with attractive academic cap and less engaging academic gown cycle furiously and dangerously through every street.' There are five societies of women at Oxford, all flourishing, yet all poor. They have on their books 700 [1] undergraduates. Their admission was accepted after years of long struggle, without obvious opposition, but there are many yet who shake their heads sadly and look with longing to Cambridge, where women are not yet admitted to full membership. ' Hence it is,' writes one of them, ' that Oxford's beautiful sister Cambridge can complacently allude to herself as " the man's University." And "the man's University " gains thereby in popularity with and in the esteem of many a normal English schoolboy.' The battle for the admission of women at Cambridge burst into full fury in December 1920, when Cambridge rejected a Grace providing for the admission of women largely by the influence of the outvoters and of those, so it is claimed, who are not most competent to give an

[1] The numbers of Women Undergraduates actually in residence at this time (Hilary Term, 1923) are as follows : Lady Margaret Hall, 103 ; Somerville College, 140 ; St. Hugh's College, 145 ; St. Hilda's Hall, 95 ; Society of Oxford Home-Students, 215.

opinion. The analysis of the voting showed that, of the resident members of the University who voted, 226 approved the Grace and 137 opposed it, whereas the full vote, including non-residents, was 904 against the Grace and 712 for it. All sorts of reasons for the result were, of course, alleged; some said that the London hospitals were searched for those who did not approve the admission of women to the medical profession; others suggested that even theological motives were brought into play; but, whatever is said and done, the residents pronounced in favour. That is the vital fact which the Royal Commission of 1919 must have had before it when it stated, in terms that admit of no misconception, that 'ample facilities should be offered both at Oxford and Cambridge for the education of women and their full participation in the life and work of the University.' The Commission itself, however, did not decide upon the alternative courses whereby this might be brought about—whether by Act of Parliament or by the action of a reformed constitution which would allow the resident vote to have full play.

We have had little or no opportunity to record the growth of the education of women at Cambridge by the development of Girton and Newnham, and at Oxford by the work of Lady Margaret Hall, Somerville, St. Hugh's, St. Hilda's, and the Society of Home-Students. The whole movement for women's education was, after all, the direct and natural result of efforts for general educational reform. When women teachers, led by Miss Anne Clough and Miss Emily Davies, secured the admission of their pupils to the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations, the desire for participation in all the benefits of University and College life followed inevitably. Cambridge, characteristically perhaps, was first. With the help of men like Kingsley, Lightfoot, Maurice, and Sidgwick, Girton was founded first at Hitchin in 1869 and Newnham in Cambridge in 1875. At Oxford, the first steps in the education of women were made by a group of University teachers, who formed the

Association for the Advancement of the Education of Women and undertook to coach a few women residents, several of whom were married (the result of the change of rule for Fellows). With the active encouragement of Mark Pattison, Walter Pater, Dr. Stubbs, Dr. Creighton, Arnold Toynbee, Dr. Jowett, Henry Nettleship, and others, the work progressed rapidly and unobtrusively until one by one University examinations were opened to women and their societies were founded. No names of Founders stand out conspicuously ; it was essentially a group movement. But Oxford women look back with special gratitude to the first two Principals, Miss Shaw-Lefevre of Somerville and Miss Elizabeth Wordsworth of Lady Margaret Hall, herself the Founder of St. Hugh's College,[1] while the members of St. Hilda's Hall owe their College more directly to Miss Dorothea Beale's keen concern for the education of girls and her sense of all the intangible gifts which Oxford has in store for teachers.

The women's Colleges have in every case shown themselves to be animated by the same spirit and to possess the same academic power as the men's Colleges. Indeed, in the old competitive days at Cambridge, Mrs. Montagu Butler was placed ' above the Senior Classic ' and, later, Miss Phillipa Garrett Fawcett ' above Senior Wrangler.' The achievements of their students, having regard to the limited numbers and the narrow opportunities open to women, are as remarkable as those of any of the men's Colleges, even in their best years. It is inevitable, since women are admitted already to the studies, examinations, and even to titular [2] degrees, that

[1] Miss Wordsworth is still living, to watch with keen interest and sympathy the progress of her two Colleges.

[2] The Grace of the Senate, admitting women to the Title of Degrees, and the right to wear the corresponding academic costume, was passed on March 3, 1923. The advocates of the admission of women to full privileges stated that they were unable to regard this as a settlement or even a contribution to a serious settlement of the matter. At the time of writing it seems probable that Parliament will pronounce a decision, thus overruling the University. From many points of view this would be unfortunate, if inevitable.

Cambridge should admit women to full membership, however long or short the time they take in the process. The wish has been strongly expressed that England would create, when this is done, a University solely for men and a University solely for women, because a full variety of educational experiment is needed above all things, and every possible standard by which to test the development of the most difficult thing a nation has to do—the education and training of the best, mentally and spiritually, of its sons and daughters—should be secured.

Happily, in the question of extra-mural work there has never been any disputation concerning the equal rights of men and women. In University Extension Lectures, in University Tutorial Classes, and in Vacation Schools, they have sat side by side on terms of absolute and unquestioned equality. Of course, no University privileges of any marked character are accorded the students in any of these types of education ; but, even so, the students in the University Extension Centres, as well as in the University Tutorial Classes, feel themselves a part of the Universities in a real sense. This feeling of theirs was encouraged by the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Sir Herbert Warren, President of Magdalen, when he sent a welcoming message to the first Tutorial Class students at Rochdale and Longton, regarding them as actually of the University of Oxford itself, although resident in towns far remote.

This brings us right face to face with the problems of the education of working men and women, which can never properly be carried out apart from the rest of the community. The whole idea of University education is democratic, in the sense that anyone who has the capacity and the goodwill—no matter what his previous experience has been, or what his father was before him—shall have full and free opportunity to develop his mental faculties. It is clear that the policy of providing University education for working men and women must not be taken as omitting others in the

community ; but at the end of the nineteenth century there was so much leeway to be made up in the provision of facilities adapted to wage-earners, and there were so many of them, that a special effort—even in an exaggerated way—was necessary and was desired by the most far-sighted men in Oxford and Cambridge. The encouragement to working men to develop their attitude towards the Universities came unmistakably from the most capable and highly-placed of University administrators and teachers. Yet they could do nothing unless working men themselves supplied the dynamic of the ideas. This they did ; the Universities then concurred, and the most significant of Oxford and Cambridge movements in recent years was set on foot. In a remarkable manner the establishment of University Tutorial Classes has redounded to the credit of Universities, and has helped to renew their life and to strengthen their studies. These are large claims to make, but they can be substantiated, and indeed three separate Royal Commissions have identified such work as inalienable from the true purposes of Universities. ' We are even more impressed by the true spirit of learning, the earnest desire for knowledge, and the tenacity of purpose which have been shown by the students,' said the Commissioners sitting in London. ' These men and women desire knowledge, not diplomas or degrees ; and we think that no University . . . would justify its existence that did not do its utmost to help and encourage work of this kind.'

The recent Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge, after expressing its approval of the work of extra-mural University education (so fully and recently discussed in the Report of the Adult Education Committee, and approved by the Royal Commissions on University Education in London and in Wales), made elaborate provisions for the development of the work and suggested a specific grant from public funds for the purpose of strengthening the Universities to carry it out effectively. The University of Cambridge, before the Report of the Commission was published,

adopted, largely as a result of the Report of the Ministry of Reconstruction [1] on Adult Education, a new form of organisation for its extra-mural teaching work, and those responsible for similar work in the University of Oxford have given unmistakable signs that they are in agreement. Nothing is wanting now but the necessary money.

It must not be supposed, from what has been said, that everyone in the University agrees ; some are fearful. There never was a time in any University when everyone agreed about anything. Societies which express themselves in an intellectual manner seldom do agree ; there are so many sides to the truth. The present Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Dr. L. R. Farnell, Rector of Exeter College, is manifestly afraid. 'This is an admirable movement,' he said, in addressing Convocation on October 11, 1922, 'offering a most useful career to our young men who have not the aptitude for our higher intra-mural, more concentrated work, and who can go forth as our missionaries. But the same men never do or can fulfil both functions at once ; and if our higher teachers are constrained to attempt it, they will lose that leisure and spirit of research which the Commissioners strongly desire them to possess. We must therefore be watchful in guarding our true prerogative.'

But though even supporters of the work who are not of the University would not desire that overworked teachers should add railway journeys and extra teaching to their University duties, there is no doubt that most teachers at some time or other, especially early in their experience, would inevitably find it a means of inspiration and of acquiring knowledge not to be obtained in any other way, if they went out to study with the keen students of our industrial towns. There is practically no divergence from the unanimous testimony of those who have actually done this ; they have been encouraged when they needed it, and have been inspired by a strength

[1] *Ministry of Reconstruction ; Adult Education Committee ; Final Report,* 1919. H.M.S.O. [Cmd. 321.] 1*s.* 9*d.* net.

and keenness which, strange as it may seem, they had never experienced in academic society. There is at least one eminent professor in the University of Oxford who was saved for his subject, to the lasting gain of the community, because, at a time when the fires of his enthusiasm were low, he met a class of working men who fanned them into flame again. Professors of mature years and ripe attainment have passed through the same experience ; the memory of W. M. Geldart, Vinerian Professor of English Law at Oxford, is of one who lost no opportunity of discussing law with working men after he had met a group of them in a Vacation School at Balliol College ; and, although Sir William Anson never actually taught them, yet he was always ready to discuss subjects of topical importance with working men and women. This is the spirit which, constantly expressed as it is by leading men in the University, will make Oxford and Cambridge live in the mind of democracy. For Cambridge is no whit behind Oxford in this ; to its honour it can claim, through Professor James Stuart, the foundation of one form of extra-mural teaching by the establishment of external lectures in 1873.[1]

It is significant that in the report of the 1850 Commission there is no recognition of any interest that working men had, or might have, in the Universities. They were doubtless not forgotten in the general consideration of ' poor scholars,' but, in fact, though probably unintentionally, their handicap, or that of their sons, was made greater by the abolition of the close scholarships attached to local and unimportant grammar schools.

The strength of both Universities was drawn from the middle and upper classes, as represented by boys from the Public Schools or the more powerful of the town grammar schools. This made it difficult for them to discover the new class which was open to them, con-

[1] The University of Cambridge is calling together the representatives of Universities in the British Empire and in the United States of America to celebrate the Jubilee of this work from July 6 to July 10 in this year (1923).

sisting of wage-earners and other adults, who had missed the opportunities of an undergraduate career but who possessed both capacity and hunger for scholarship in its higher reaches. The roots of the Universities, in order to draw sustenance and strength from such a source, would of necessity have to be struck over a wide area, even though it is improbable that any large number of adult students would seek to enter a College or to become members of the non-collegiate body. Most students of this kind would attend local classes and Vacation Schools, and would remain, and be content with remaining, extra-mural ; but nevertheless the direct result of their work would be a greater interest and belief in the Universities as such, leading to discriminating support and growing confidence. The real value of such a striking of the roots is inherent in the necessities of academic studies which demand the assistance of every conceivable piece of knowledge, and the inspiration arising out of the life of every right-living man.

It is strange that Universities should have been so blind, or so inert, as not long ago to have benefited by the mind and experience of the manual labourer ; so often has intellectual and spiritual power been not only associated with but inspired by physical toil. At times it almost seems that every great prophetic advance derives its impetus directly from the power of physical labour. Most certainly any community or institution which shuts itself off from the physical operations necessary to its health and development and relegates them to an under-class, whether of slaves or servants, cannot possibly live at its highest, and must inevitably become degenerate.

There are many applications of this dictum which may be considered, but only one concerns us now. If the Universities are to become even a shadow of what they might be in the twentieth century, they must permeate the very minds and hearts of working men and women. The ground has been left free and open for this democratic development by the almost complete

overthrow of the barriers of creed and sex. As for class distinctions, they exist but weakly, if at all, in the Colleges themselves. There are, in all societies, snobs and selfish or self-important members, but even the obvious adult workmen found themselves one in the fellowship and unity of the twentieth-century Colleges.[1] The days have long since passed when 'Noblemen' and 'Fellow Commoners' strutted through the quadrangle and honoured the University by condescending to take a Degree after two years of radiant yet unenlightened residence.

The extra-mural work of a University has been justified in the main, quite incompletely, on the ground that it is a means whereby people who cannot come to the University may participate in its advantages. This is excellent enough, but the chief purpose of an academic society as it grows more powerful in its inherent nature is to develop and reveal knowledge and truth. The recognition of this has induced men of high academic position, whose minds and sympathies are excellent though narrow, and who are unable to distinguish every true source of power, to utter warnings concerning the undue dissipation of the energy of the University on external activities.[2] If extra-mural work is to be justified as an integral and essential activity of a University, it must be because it is a source both of strength and of knowledge which cannot be achieved in any other way.

[1] The West Riding County Council have granted exhibitions annually to adult workmen, tenable either at Ruskin College or at a College of Oxford University. The Council made its last award of a scholarship tenable at Ruskin College in 1919. Up to and including that year nine exhibitions had been awarded. Since then two exhibitions have been awarded to two ex-University Tutorial Class students, one tenable at Wadham College and the other at Christ Church. These two exhibitioners have met with much success. Both obtained the Diploma in Political Science and Economics; the one obtained Honours in the School of Modern History, and the other is at present preparing a thesis for the degree of B.Litt. No exhibition was awarded in 1922 owing to restrictions upon financial expenditure. It may be hoped that the scholarship will be renewed at no distant date.

[2] *See* p. 179.

This does not mean that the intra-mural work is not supremely more important : it is indeed the end of all University aspiration and effort. But it does mean that the full flower and fruit are unattainable without extra-mural work. Even if it be that only one per cent. of the whole intellectual product can result from the conduct of University Extension Lectures and Tutorial Classes, yet the importance of this unit cannot be exaggerated.

An examination of the whole situation from the point of view of the workman-scholar will help the impartial or even prejudiced reader to decide as to the importance of, or even necessity for, this new twentieth-century order. 'They pursue learning,' said Professor Gilbert Murray, 'in the spirit of the great scholars of the Renaissance, or almost in that of the three Kings of the East.'

The opening years of the twentieth century witnessed a new phenomenon. Mature and experienced working men and women adopted a definite attitude towards the Universities which had as its aim the development of their own education. They showed by this attitude a full appreciation of the mission and purpose of a University. They saw both Oxford and Cambridge as the consecrated homes of sound learning and of steady work for the advancement of knowledge. With a shrewd insight which was in itself prophetic, they saw that the purest mental and spiritual influences which come from rightly conducted labour must be assimilated by a University if it is ever to fulfil the high purposes of its foundation. They felt themselves to be drifting hither and thither without real knowledge and the power which it gives, and devoid of a constructive plan for achieving it. They could not hope, they knew, to take their rightful place in the life of the community unless they possessed the power in their own ranks, and unless the knowledge they achieved was illumined by devotion to truth and was in real unity with all the best in human life. They instinctively felt that, in spite of past departures from sound procedure and the undue adhesion

to the ideals of the English country-house, the Universities were indeed in their essence the expression of a spirit which could control and direct knowledge and the possessors of it, to legitimate and splendid ends, to the welfare and development of the life of the whole community.

The University Extension Movement, which had been founded at Cambridge in 1873 by James Stuart, had been untiring in its attempt to help working men and women. In some places and at some periods it achieved marked success, but on the whole its influence was limited by the fact that it was supported to too great an extent by men and women, chiefly the latter, of the middle classes only. Yet nothing could have exceeded in enthusiasm and power the efforts of the early lecturers, whether from Oxford or from Cambridge. They felt that they were missionaries ; indeed, it is impossible to put too high an assessment upon the value of their labours in English education. They were instrumental in developing a spirit in England which led directly to the development of the new University movement and popularised the idea of a University apart altogether from its connection with resident undergraduates and scholars.

It is easy to visualise the University Extension lecture at its best in an industrial city—an eager audience of many hundreds of working men and women crowded together in the hall of the Co-operative Society, eagerly intent upon every word, taking notes, feeling that they also were scholars. The lecturer, Fellow of his College, ardent, well-informed, often eloquent, is vibrant with eagerness to absorb and harmonise with the inspiration flowing to him from the mass of inquiring minds before him. The lecture over, the majority of the audience pass out, but the fire of questions then commences ; it is the period allotted to the class, and in it, at all times, there is eager discussion and there is insistent manifestation of that fearless, inquisitive character so much to be encouraged in the English industrial worker. When the class is over, the time arrives for a word or two of

spoken appreciation or criticism of the essays which have been written previously by the keenest of the students and now are given back. These essays bear their part as one item of the work on the basis of which a final award may be made by the University, after written examination at the conclusion of the course. It may be that some of the audience, with the aid of scholarships or otherwise, will attend at Oxford or Cambridge in the summer, and there will feel themselves to be of the company of all students of the glorious past. 'The impressions of those grand old College buildings linger in my mind,' writes a house decorator of the North, 'and impel me to acknowledge that, after all, Cambridge is Cambridge, the home of scholars and saints.' Such are the advance guard of a new order.

It was during a Summer Meeting of this kind that the new movement was confirmed. A few trade unionists and co-operators gathered together in the conviction that education amongst working men and women must be carried out by co-operation between the Universities and their own organisations. It must ever be to the credit of Oxford and Cambridge that they understood and sympathised with the first thought and expression of this small and, to unseeing eyes, insignificant group. Thus it was that representatives of Universities, trade unions and co-operative societies met at Oxford on August 21, 1903, to confirm and establish an 'Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men,' which afterwards became famous as 'The Workers' Educational Association.' The working man, fresh from his industrial city, was by no means a mere worshipper at the shrine of Oxford or Cambridge; he saw in them the promise of a fuller life which it was his duty to achieve for his comrades of the mine or factory. One man, a general labourer and an ardent Socialist, could not restrain his tears as, standing upon New College tower, he gazed upon the incomparable beauty of Oxford. 'I want my comrades to see this,' he said; he really meant that, in season and out of

season, he would strive with all his power to make the dingy, gloomy, crowded town in which he lived as near to the ideal of beauty as ever it was in his power to do. 'That visit to Cambridge made me a rebel,' said a prominent trade unionist in a Midland town, 'a rebel against all mean and ugly conditions in our municipal life.' There was never any bitterness in their minds. To look forward with generous enthusiasm to the finer life to be is characteristic of the thoughtful English workman.

Year by year, under the influence of the new movement, the number of working men and women attending the Summer Courses increased until a sudden development took place in 1906. This was due in part to an eager group of weavers and labourers in the town of Rochdale. Under the influence of the Workers' Educational Association, they began again to use the University Extension Lectures ; they enjoyed them ; they asked awkward questions of the lecturers ; they found in them the suggestion of better education. They appreciated the short courses on Dante and on the stars, but short courses were not enough for them. They wanted to know all that there was to be known about the subject of their choice, and they were prepared, with all that spirit of independence and persistence which English northerners possess, to make any sacrifice, if only their object could be achieved. 'Give us a teacher who will come to us for two years and we will attend every lecture : we will write essays, we will read all the books he tells us to read. We will do everything, having regard to our economic position and conditions, that is possible for us to do in the pursuit of learning in the true spirit.'

Oxford once again proved that it had not merely the listening ear but the sympathetic mind. The New College of William of Wykeham, out of a favourable financial opportunity, had decided to make a grant of £300 for the education of working men and women. It was a prophetic grant, and perhaps one of the most important made by any College in modern times. It enabled Dr. Strong, Dean of Christ Church, to say to

the eager, pressing group of Rochdale workmen who invaded the Deanery that they should have their class. The meeting of these weavers and the high dignitary of Church and College was a meeting of new and old, but they understood one another in a flash because they were alike consecrated to a cause higher than themselves. In a very short time a group of Longton potters and miners, infected by the example of Rochdale, met in a similar way and formed another group ; thus what is known throughout the world as the University Tutorial Class Movement came into existence. Both groups decided to study Economic History, and the services of a tutor [1] of rare ability and devotion were secured. The interest of the statutory educational bodies was awakened. The Board of Education, then under the sympathetic and far-seeing control of Sir Robert Morant, the greatest English educational administrator of modern times, began the work of adapting its regulations to meet the new needs. The Local Education Authority at Rochdale made a contribution, and the Longton Authority took the full financial responsibility.

The records of both these classes are notable in the history of English education. One persisted for four years and the other for seven years. There were very few withdrawals from slackness, and a high standard of work was achieved from the outset. In a short time every English University and University College commenced to work with one or more of the numerous groups which were arising in all parts. In 1914, at the outbreak of the Great War, there were 140 classes ; during the War they dropped to 95 ; immediately the War was over they started to increase once more, until in 1921–22 there were 342 classes.

A visitor who is present at a tutorial class will find that often the students gather together as early as possible before the time fixed for opening, and talk and discuss, not merely with one another, but with the tutor, if they have the good fortune to find him. The class begins

[1] R. H Tawney, B.A., formerly Scholar and Fellow of Balliol.

on a note of happiness and closes two hours later without a trace of boredom. There has been one hour's exposition, not uninterrupted by questions, and in the hands of certain teachers developing almost into a Socratic dialogue, then there has followed an hour of eager discussion. But the close of the class is not the end of the evening's work. It is often midnight before the last members of the group break up ; they remain in the class-room as long as possible ; they frequently continue their discussion in the street or adjourn to some favoured room or place where they can drink coffee, or smoke, and still argue. It is a poor class which confines its activities to the two hours of the schedule.

The study of Philosophy was continued regularly, at one time, by practically the whole of a Birmingham class on a certain sidewalk until an energetic policeman informed the tutor that if he persisted in making an obstruction every Thursday night after ten o'clock he would have to invite him to visit the police station. On another occasion the tutor was accompanied by his class to the railway station ; the train came in ; part of the class, as many as dared, got into the train, and the last of the class for that evening was a group of students running by the side of the train with the tutor projecting from the window. The last sentence was broken off in the middle and had to be mended next week.

In the summer vacation students go to Oxford and Cambridge, as well as to other Universities, for periods of intensive study. This gives an opportunity to professors, who desire to meet them, to do so, and the students are often so far advanced as to need the help of specialists. Men or women may thus attend classes in their own locality in the winter and also year by year study for a brief period at Oxford or Cambridge. Such a one, keen and passionate, burst free for a week from distasteful and coercive employment in a factory he should never have been allowed to enter, but in which he worked patiently and well, with a high standard of honour. He was extreme, even revolutionary in his

politics, but the spirit of Oxford called to his spirit. The home of scholarship had an abiding place in the heart of the man who could only visit it for a brief week.

He writes the following recollections of his visit :

Although it is now some few years ago since I was a student of the W.E.A. at Oxford, the memory of it is still pleasantly vivid, and joyously dear to my memory. I can honestly say that, except for not having my family with me, it was the finest, happiest and most intellectual treat I had ever enjoyed. For, at least part of my life has been a bitter struggle against poverty and accidents ; at one time, as a child glad and thankful to gather garbage from ash buckets from the streets to get a meal ;—but, to get back to Oxford. There I met kindred souls aflame with enthusiasm and an unquenchable desire for knowledge. Not for the purpose of material gain, not for their own advancement over their fellows, but because they realised that here was the fountain of knowledge for the thirsty soul and they could drink, and drink, and yet they were still dry. Because it was good for the mind. It was good for the body. It was good for the very soul. It would help us to be real true men and women, beautiful in trying to attain to a well-balanced mind ; freed from the petty things of life and getting to grips with the great, high and noble thoughts of life and nature generally. We were rising from the tiny beings of mundane things to what Carlyle says : ' Ye are the Gods if ye did but realise it.' Oh, the joy of listening to those great lecturers ! Then the greater joy still of the discussions, when our minds and thoughts were struggling with the professors to get to rock bottom with the facts and truth ! Sometimes one side won, then the other. All through these mental tussles the only aim was to get the best out of each and to arrive at the truth for all. We were railway-workers, cotton-mill workers, miners, labourers in ordinary life, but, as Whittier said, and never more truly said :

' True pioneers and labourers
Up the encumbered way,
With hands that dig for knowledge,
And eyes that watch for day.'

On the other side were the College people, whose only experience had been the great seat of learning. We battled day after day —me for a week, what an awfully short time—on Trade Union Law, Ethics, Literature, Philosophy, etc. After the lectures and

discussions in the room, we would chum up with groups of kindred-spirited pals and seize a passing lecturer, take him a willing prisoner under some shady tree, and so pursue further the subject that was most fascinating and enchanting to the particular group. In the evenings there were the socials, where each according to his talents gave of his best for the pleasure of all. There, too, was a cementing of the bonds of friendship and fraternity, which will live for many years to come. Oxford itself is still the Oxford of yore. It changes so slowly that what changes there are, are almost imperceptible even after a visit with a lapse of years between. It is a real seat of learning, so much so that one can almost feel and taste the desire and atmosphere of knowledge as soon as one enters its environs. When all is said and done, one can only say that Learning is Oxford, and Oxford is Learning, and finally, Oxford *is* really and truly Oxford—there is and can be no other Oxford. I am glad that I had that one opportunity to attend these lectures, and I shall carry the memories of loving friends, comrades and professors, lectures and socials, rambles and discussions with me to the end, for I can honestly say that, through and by these, I am and have been a better, brighter and happier man. They have, and are still, helping me mentally to keep my feet firmly planted on the road of desire for knowledge for truth's sake. That, and that alone, can make us manly in the true sense of the word. What more epitaph can anyone desire than that it shall be said of him, 'He was in very truth a man.'

The best comment on so enthusiastic an utterance is: 'Wisdom lifted up the head of him that is of low degree and maketh him to sit among great men.'[1]

If Oxford seems to have meant too much to him, then the background of a starved life must be brought into the picture. Such students also were the Midland factory girls who set to work to raise money by means of a dramatic representation for Lady Margaret Hall, the College of their tutor. They too were of Oxford.

There has been no more inspiring spectacle in English educational effort than the sight of men and women attending lectures, classes and Summer Schools, and while suspicious and afraid at first of all that a University connotes, finding with rapidity that they are of use as students and have a real place in University

[1] Ecclesiasticus.

life. 'I certainly regarded the Universities with great suspicion,' writes a mine surface worker, 'and this was only eliminated by personal experience and contact with people in them, until I am now convinced that anything reactionary about them belongs mainly to tradition and can be borne down by the sheer weight of a demand for a democratic educational system, as soon as such a demand is made with sufficient strength.'

The days are too young to justify a valuation of all the effort in terms which would convince the most deaf or blind of those members of the University who still remain sceptical. There is little doubt, at any rate, that any danger that the Universities might be damaged as a result of political and social power passing into the hands of working men and women is definitely overpast. This ought in itself to convince those who claim to be the guardians of a University's interest—but which of them can fail to be inspired by the knowledge that thousands of men and women are participating, according to their degree and strength, in the studies which they themselves pursue ?

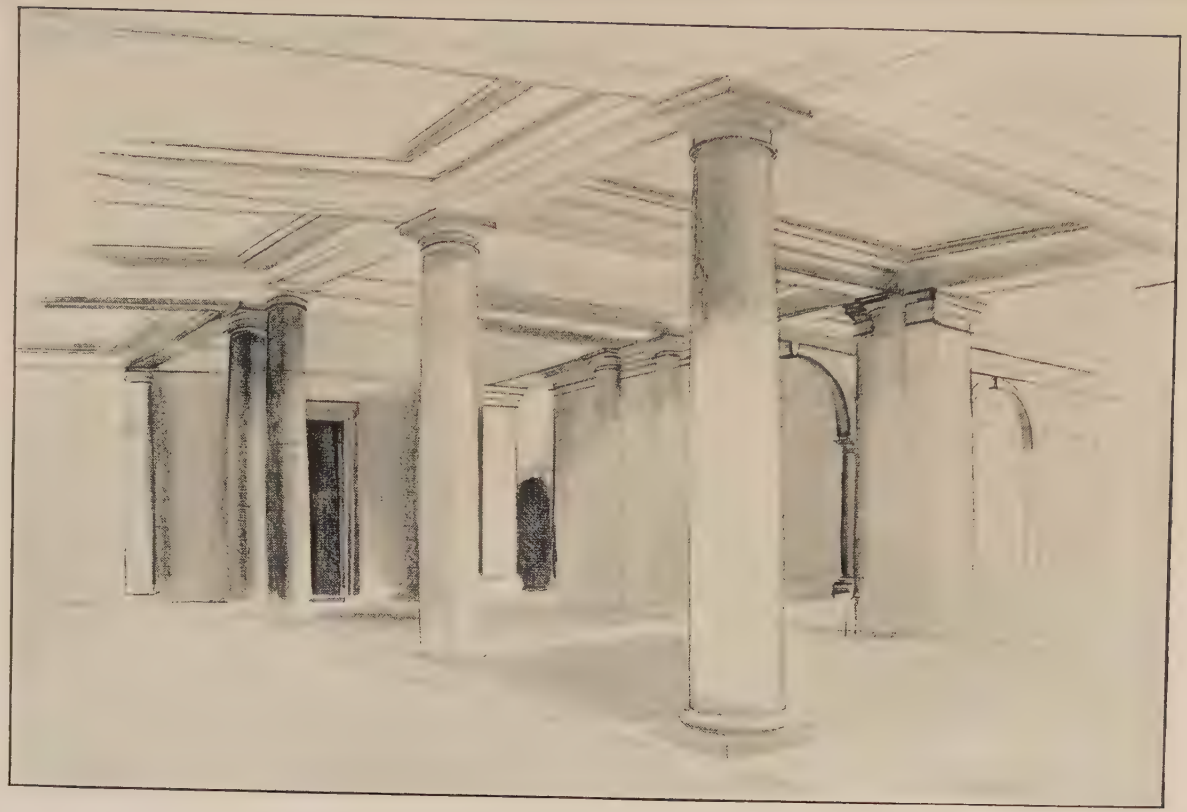
In the near future those who are mainly concerned with the extra-mural work of Oxford and Cambridge will have to decide how far and in what way they will encourage adults to undertake lengthened courses of intra-mural study. It would seem that, for most men and women who have entered fully into an occupation or way of living, the local class and the Summer School provide the best means of developing their powers, and equipping them fully for the service of the community. For the rest, if any student ought quite clearly to work in the University because of exceptional ability, and can do so without breaking up or even endangering his home life, then he should have opportunity. He ought, however, not to be received as, or classed with, the eighteen-year-old undergraduate. Unless he joins the non-collegiate body, his conspicuous ability (and no ordinary ability in this connection need be considered) should justify a place in college with the post-graduate students

at least. Yet such adult working men as have entered Colleges as ordinary undergraduates have found them altogether to their liking. Their ages have been as a rule anything up to forty years. The oldest student of them all, who is over fifty, is uncontrolled in his enthusiasm for the life of the non-collegiate undergraduate. It is indeed the realisation of a dream to one who, though a scholar by nature, became a bleacher in a textile works, until, through a University Tutorial Class, he reached the Oxford of his desire. There is no reason why the best of such students should not enter the Universities as teachers, but before this happens they must have proved themselves indubitably; as, for instance, did Thomas Okey,[1] a workman, before he was invited by Cambridge to occupy the Chair of Italian.

The development of Ruskin College, founded at Oxford in 1899 by two citizens of the United States, Walter Vrooman and Charles Beard, and of the Roman Catholic Labour College at Oxford, founded in 1921, cannot be discussed at any length. Yet it is important to notice that not a few students of Ruskin College take with distinction the University Diploma in Economics and Political Science, and that the College maintains a friendly attitude to the University while preserving jealously its complete independence.

There is likely to be a development of Labour Colleges in the near future, for in spite of all that has been done in connection with Universities there is ever present in men and women a desire for self-expression and self-government. Probably the greatest good will result from such colleges if they can federate with one another and have some organised connection with the Universities. They will be able to take advantage of University Tutorial Classes and of lectures, and will

[1] Thomas Okey, born 1852, was appointed Professor of Italian in 1919. He was a working basket-maker for many years, and attended evening classes and lectures at Bethnal Green, the London Working Men's College, Birkbeck College, and Toynbee Hall.



Under the Library, Trinity College, Cambridge

through this medium exercise such influence as they ought on the centres of English learning.

The older Universities in a democratic age have special significance for the men and women who are engaged in the ordinary tasks of the community, whether tasks of labour or of government. The problems which confront society at the present time are both complicated and elusive. Their solution demands the finest powers of humanity, strengthened and fortified by sound learning. Such powers cannot be acquired by the people during their limited school training. The problems can only be appreciated and understood by mature minds illumined by advanced education.

At all times the mission of a University is to be an intellectual centre, but this mission is specially important in the present age. There are growing up all kinds of institutions and activities which can only be kept strong and clear in their work if they remain in vital contact with Universities as the intellectual repositories of all their experience and knowledge. As a result of this contact by a process of action and reaction, the Universities and the institutions of the people, whatever they may be, will both become stronger as they realise more fully their true place in the community, which, when all is said and done, is not a congeries of divided and unrelated groups, but is one body.

The world has passed recently through overwhelming and shattering times. The future is full of immense possibilities, both as a result of scientific discovery and of new social ideas, and these possibilities can only be translated into increased power and health for humanity if the citizens of the various countries, and particularly of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States, are unremitting in their pursuit of knowledge inspired by spiritual forces. Thus, although everyone, even in a democratic age, cannot and ought not to reside at a University, yet in some way or other they should be brought into contact with its extra-mural work or the institutions which are helped or directed by it. Mr.

A. L. Smith, the Master of Balliol, writing as Chairman of the Adult Education Committee, in its final report said : ' The necessary conclusion is that adult education must not be regarded as a luxury for a few exceptional persons here and there, nor as a thing which concerns a short span of early manhood, but that adult education is a permanent national necessity, an inseparable aspect of citizenship, and therefore should be both universal and lifelong.'

Now let us summarise in a different way the whole of the argument for extra-mural studies, pursued by working men and women. The ideal University is supported in its spiritual and intellectual aspects, as surely as in its material, by the good-will and active co-operation, nay more, by the fusion of the whole community. It may be argued that this view of things is mystical and not practical. Most surely it is both. These two forces are dependent the one upon the other for their very health, if not for their existence.

Roughly, then, the problem is one of making the maximum contact between the members of the University proper and the great world outside. Fortunately, the very fact that the Universities are not, and never have been, monastic, has kept them in the world and of it, but their seizure, or at least their usage, by clearly defined classes of people has denied them the advantages of co-operation with the largest section of the community—the ordinary labouring people, in intimate contact not only with the hardest but with the truest part of English life.

It is from labour that all true intellectual and spiritual force ascends. The proof of this assertion does not lie in the production of the records of scholars who have laboured themselves, or whose fathers have done so (this would be convincing enough), but in the mere recognition of the fact that manual toil is, or should be, the lot of all but a few men and women. It is a condition, indeed, of right living. On the other hand, there is so much manual work in modern civilisation

that is not of a creative character, and machinery is making possible so enormous an output, that few men will perform that which is health-giving in its nature. The rectification of this will lie, can only lie, in the right use of leisure. Men whose powers are being either misused or used below their true level during the hours of work must have sufficient leisure allowed them to develop their own faculties, and they must seize the opportunity, or the civilisation of which we boast and with which we struggle will end in disaster.

CHAPTER XI

THE ROYAL COMMISSION AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Royal Commission appointed 'to enquire into the financial resources of the Universities and of the Colleges and Halls therein, into the administration and application of these resources, into the government of the Universities, and into the relations of the Colleges and Halls to the Universities and to each other' had an entirely different task from that allotted to the Royal Commission of 1850. In the first place, it had to deal with both Universities, and although it was divided at the outset into three Committees—the Oxford Committee, the Cambridge Committee, and the Estates Committee—yet in point of fact the problems of Oxford and Cambridge were considered jointly, and only in certain specific aspects (e.g. in considering All Souls, which is a College peculiar to Oxford, and the question of admitting women, which at Cambridge has reached a stage entirely different from that at Oxford) did the Oxford and Cambridge Committees report on their respective responsibilities. As we have seen, the 1850 Commission was hampered by the reluctance of the Colleges to assist, but the Commission of 1919 had the full assistance of everyone connected with the working of both places. Moreover, the Report of 1852, and the action of the Statutory Commissioners appointed by the Oxford University Act of 1854, the Cambridge University Act of 1856, and the Universities Act of 1877 had remedied most of the flagrant abuses in the Universities. In a sense, therefore, the Royal Commission of 1919 may be regarded as supplementary to those of the previous century.

Professor Goldwin Smith, who was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Oxford University Commissioners of 1850, on his return from Canada for a brief space in 1886, was tempted to compare the Oxford of that time with the Oxford of the Commission. Writing in the *Oxford Magazine*, he said :

> You have now real teachers ; we could scarcely be said to have them in the days when men took tutorships to fill their time while they were waiting for a college living.

He pointed out that the Commission found

> the University curricula not academical or national, and fatally hampered with monastic regulations, local prejudices, and mediaeval fetters of all kinds ; it struck off the fetters, put Oxford into academical hands, and left her to work out her own salvation. To adjust a group of mediaeval and monastic colleges to the requirements of a modern University is a desperately difficult task. The problem is in fact incapable of a perfectly satisfactory solution.

There has never been a year since 1882, when the 1877 Statutory Commissioners finished their task, during which the Universities have been free from new demands and criticisms. 'We are led by Commissions,' so runs the complaint of the *Oxford Magazine* in 1886 ; 'we are lashed by the Magazines ; we are pulverised by the ferocious rhetoric of the larger Reviews.' That is indeed a most satisfactory state of things, for until Oxford and Cambridge rise by the power of their fundamental tradition to a plane which will satisfy reasonable reformers or even go far beyond their wishes, it is entirely in their interest that they should be criticised continually and stimulated from without. Needless to say, that happy time when no criticism will be justified is very far off. For, in spite of all that we have said, the Universities are not completely in touch with the educational system of the country ; they are not completely accessible to the able student of all classes and degrees of wealth ; their government is clogged in many respects by the impedimenta of confusion ; and they

have not yet succeeded in equipping themselves for the tasks before them in a manner which might reasonably be expected of the oldest and most experienced Universities in the English-speaking world.

The interest and solicitude which they excite in the United States of America, as well as in the British Empire, is extreme. 'No more significant document,' remarks the *New York Evening Post*, 'has recently been presented to the British Government than the Report of the Royal Commission which now recommends Treasury Grants of $500,000 annually to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. For hundreds and hundreds of years these two institutions of higher learning, each as famous in America and Asia as in its own country, have been self-sustaining. To-day, on their own admission, they cannot endure unless they receive State aid. Every other course has been considered and dismissed as either impracticable or impossible. To increase fees would make them colleges of the idle rich. This they are unwilling to be. The attempt to secure great private gifts has ended in complete failure. The national treasury, therefore, is the last as well as the only resort.'

Briefly, then, the characteristics of the Universities of 1850 had changed entirely by 1919. By this time they had become places of free and unfettered learning, and not merely national but international. They must inevitably serve not a nation but the whole of the intellectual world. Thus the 1919 Commissioners had to consider not merely the problems of the relations of Oxford and Cambridge to the State, of their Colleges to the Universities, and of the schools of the country to the Colleges, but also the problem of giving the two Universities a proper place in a world system of Universities.

The demand for the appointment of a Royal Commission to deal with these matters was made with insistent force by Oxford men in 1907. There was a certain movement, though not marked, towards the same end in the University of Cambridge. But, as we have

seen, Cambridge men are never so vocal as Oxford men, even when their feelings are equally strong. The movement was the inevitable result of the presence in the community of new types of students who were handicapped in their approach to, and in some cases debarred from entering, the Colleges, sometimes by the inadequate curricula of the local schools, but more often by the lack of sufficient and legitimate support for poor scholars. The Education Act of 1902 had developed a new class of municipal secondary schools controlled by Local Authorities which had power to grant scholarships. This development, while it enabled more poor students to reside at Oxford and Cambridge, revealed more clearly than before the defective contact of the Universities with the work of schools other than the great Public Schools or the well-established town grammar schools. The interest of working men and women was aroused, when for the first time their children were brought face to face with the possibility of admission to Oxford or Cambridge. In addition, they themselves were seeking to develop their own educational opportunities, not so much, as is commonly thought, because they were ambitious for political power, as because of the desire for knowledge among those who were scholars by nature and who had had no opportunity to continue their education in the past.

Dr. Charles Gore, as Bishop of Birmingham, voiced these ideas with singular force in the House of Lords on July 24, 1907. He moved 'the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the endowment, government, administration, and teaching of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in order to secure their best use for all classes of the community.' His condemnation of the position of the Universities was definite and unmistakable. 'I venture to think,' he said, 'that there can be no reasonable doubt that at present our ancient Universities are allowed to become, to an extent altogether beyond what ought to be tolerated, a playground for the sons of the wealthier classes.'

The implications of this he drove home in no uncertain manner; nor were his remarks challenged seriously, although in Oxford they caused intense irritation, and amongst Cambridge men they produced a sense of satisfaction that they were not as others. The truth is that even to-day the two Universities are largely regarded in this light by far too many parents and young men—not so much by young women—and it was a sense of this which made the 1919 Commissioners so insistent upon the establishment of a University Entrance Examination, and so desirous of forcing the Colleges to send down those who were not making a reasonable minimum of intellectual progress. The difficulties arising out of compulsory Greek at the entrance examinations and the overwhelming preponderance of classical scholarships at Oxford were emphasised in the discussion consequent upon the motion of Dr. Gore.

The agitation of which this motion in the House of Lords was a culminating point died down before the opening of the Great War, but the widespread desire for reform was not at an end, and it ultimately brought about the Commission of 1919. Lord Curzon had set about the reform of Oxford before the War and produced the famous 'Red Book' which was duly considered by the Hebdomadal Council, and resulted in certain reforms, such as the restriction in the number of members of Congregation and the establishment of a new Board of Finance. Cambridge possessed no one to emulate the example of the Oxford Chancellor. The tide of discontent, however, especially among the younger tutors, continued to rise. Meanwhile the members of the working class became increasingly anxious to make the two Universities accessible to real students, whether rich or poor, not, as is commonly suggested, accessible to all —which is impossible—or to the poor as such. In the interests of the community they desired that the finest brains and character should be free to work in the foremost educational institutions of the land.

Both Universities owe more than is commonly

supposed to the faith which was reposed in them in the years immediately prior to the War by labouring men and women who understood and believed in the spirit of scholarship and research in spite of the bitter opposition and condemnation of their politically-minded fellows, who were unable, or unwilling, to understand the true place of scholarship in the affairs of men. The advantage of this faith will reveal itself more completely in days to come, especially as the destinies of English institutions will henceforth lie, at least in part, in their hands. If the new democracy is able to see, and sees clearly, that the Universities, so long as they are consecrated to the purposes of scholarship and research, must be left free and unfettered to accomplish their own work, duly supported and trusted by the community in which they are set, then the most glorious days of Oxford and Cambridge have yet to be lived.

The Report of the Commission, with the recommendations made by it for financial aid, has yet to be translated into an Act of Parliament, but, fortunately enough, there are among the Labour Members in the House of Commons a sufficient number of men who have worked with Oxford and Cambridge to give point and force to the contention that even in times of national economy the Universities should not be deprived of the necessary funds, provided they recognise nothing less than their full obligations to scholarship and research.

It was 'finance' after all which precipitated the Commission. The newer English Universities were finding it impossible to fulfil their budgets owing to the fall in the value of money consequent upon the War. The President of the Board of Education was so anxious that their needs should not be considered except in due relationship to the work of Oxford and Cambridge that, in agreeing to receive a deputation, he suggested—especially since the Scottish and Irish Universities were also approaching him—'it would be desirable that Oxford and Cambridge should be represented.' This led to requests for financial grants from both

Universities. Oxford, forced by the needs of its scientific departments into a position which many humanists disliked, was apparently much more reluctant in the matter than Cambridge ; but, ultimately, there was general acquiescence, if not agreement, on the part of the governing bodies of the Universities upon the principle that inquiry by a Commission should precede any final decision in regard to financial assistance.

At the outset it may be admitted that the chief characteristics of the Report are its vindication of the excellence and purity of academic work and its justification of the insistent claim on public funds for substantial grants-in-aid. Being of this nature, it disappointed many reformers and produced much satisfaction in the minds of at least the older teachers and responsible officials. In his address to Convocation on October 11, 1922, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford said : ' We have all appreciated the sympathetic and laudatory judgment that on the whole the Commissioners have passed on our achievements and work in the immediate past ; they realise vividly how our historic evolution has determined our present, and they are equitably lenient in respect of what may appear wrong in our system or our academic life. . . . They have not attempted to solve wholly the difficulties that arise from the dual system of teaching, the Collegiate and the University system ; they still would leave us to ourselves, to grope after a solution of these difficulties, as we have been groping for years. But certainly their proposals aim at turning us in the direction of a common University organisation.' The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, in accordance with the traditions of his University, was reticent on points of detail. ' No one can read the Report,' he thought, ' without feeling thankful to the Commissioners for the just testimony to the work that is done in the place under very difficult circumstances.'

The older University administrators may indeed be said to have heaved sighs of relief. This, however,

does not at all mean that they are disposed to carry out the recommendations of the Commission without large reservations ; an intense hatred of interference from outside is ever nourished in the breasts of powerful University administrators. Moreover, in both Universities there is a widespread suspicion, mainly expressed by the literary and linguistic teachers, of the intentions of Governments which may give grants of money. Sir William Ridgeway, of Cambridge, writing in the *Quarterly Review*, pointed out that ' the acceptance of a Government Grant is fraught with the gravest danger. Unless it is made a permanent charge on the Consolidated Fund it will prove fatal to the autonomy of the University.'

The Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford [1] stated clearly in the *Church Quarterly Review* that the Commission was simply a device to bring Oxford and Cambridge under the authority of the Board of Education; the position reminded him of the proverbial mouse tempted into a trap by the prospect of subsidies of cheese. There is no need for us to enter into a discussion upon these attitudes at present ; it is sufficient to record them.

It is interesting to note that many public bodies outside the Universities made representations to the Commissioners of 1919, while apparently the Commissioners of 1850 concerned themselves entirely with the opinions of University teachers and administrators. Obviously, there did not exist in the England of the middle nineteenth century anything like the general interest now felt in University work, which was then regarded not so much of national as of sectarian importance. Hence one of the chief contributions of the 1919 Commission lies in the fact that it has presented to the world the results of independent inquiries by such bodies as the Oxford Reform Committee, the Committee of Younger Cambridge Graduates, Associations of Headmasters, Headmistresses, and Teachers, the Workers' Educational Association, and the Labour Party. There

[1] The Rev. A. C. Headlam, now Bishop of Gloucester.

is ample material in their reports for those reformers who are not disposed to base their future action on the conclusions of the Commission itself.

But apart from all such reports, the conclusions and recommendations of the Commission are sufficient to occupy the attention of both Universities, of the Statutory Commissions which will ensue, and of Parliament, so far as it can find time, during the course of the next few years. A reasonable view to take of the whole matter is that the Commissioners have faced big problems and made tentative steps towards their solution. It is obvious that they felt that the proper bodies to reform the Universities are the Universities themselves, when the State has helped them by removing obstacles in the way, and by striking off the fetters—and perhaps cutting the red tape—which have bound them in many respects up to the present.

On the whole, however, the Report has been accepted by conservatives and reformers alike as a document setting out clearly and truly the purposes and functions of both Universities, and at least as an honest and well-informed attempt to face the complicated situation brought about by the existence, in the midst of a changing community, of Universities which are federations of Colleges created on a mediaeval pattern.

As the document is of such recent publication,[1] and so easily accessible, it is unnecessary to attempt to give any complete *résumé* of it. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with considering certain aspects and recommendations of the Report, and making some comments upon government, finance, cost of living, and the admission of poor students.

Hitherto, Cambridge has had no Resident House corresponding to Congregation—the house of the resident Masters and Doctors at Oxford ; it desires one, and the Commission recommends that such a House should immediately be established. The obsolete

[1] *Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities*, 1922. H.M.S.O. (Cmd. 1588). 6*s*.

methods of University administration, the system of over-working the Vice-Chancellors without providing them with proper allowances or regular assistance, and the cumbering of Proctors with much routine work, will also be superseded by ordinary, reasonable, and up-to-date methods. The Vice-Chancellor will still only hold office for a short period (the term of three years is recommended), and, although it seemed that Heads of Houses were probably the only class in the Universities normally in a position to undertake the work, the Commission was anxious that the office should not be confined to them absolutely.

Inside the University, its teachers often find it difficult to discover where real responsibility for University administration and the organisation of studies lies. Ultimately, of course, Convocation at Oxford and the Senate at Cambridge are responsible, but there is such a vast undergrowth beneath these bodies. A subject, for example, which is of intense interest to many at the present time is that of Economics. At Oxford this study is controlled by a Committee on Economics and a Board of Studies in Economics and Political Science. Neither of these bodies has the power of a Faculty. The Professor of Economics, as such, has no statutory place on the Board of Studies. Neither body is quite clear about its relationship to the other ; neither of them is empowered to certify original work ; that matter lies in the hands of the Faculty of Modern History, and it is rumoured that one economic thesis has found its way to the Faculty of Natural Science !

The proposals of the Commission for establishing a Board of Studies and Research, together with a Finance Board, each reporting to the Council (which, however, has no power to take away their autonomy in certain respects), will tend to simplify procedure, especially when the functions of the Board are considered from time to time by effective and residential governing bodies. The Resident Houses will have power, subject to reasonable delay if desired by a quota of their

members, to develop the educational work of the Universities according to their own deliberate will. In other words, Convocation and Senate will only be able to act as brakes and in exceptional circumstances, not as deliberate vetoes upon the ascertained will of the Universities.

The direction of the Commission was obviously towards strengthening the Faculties as compared with the Colleges. It was, however, far from their wish to reduce the spirit of useful autonomy in the Colleges. They valued the College spirit—the sentiment round about the ancient foundations—as highly as any devoted College tutor could do. With a view to assisting the development of the various Faculties, they recommended that any grants made by the Government should be made to the University and not to the Colleges. Moreover, they considered carefully the method of College taxation introduced by the Statutory Commissioners of 1882 ; they felt that the Oxford system of graduated taxation was satisfactory, and recommended that Cambridge should supersede the present flat rate by such a system.

The Commission had no doubt as to the inadequacy of the payment of teachers at both Universities. The normal emoluments prior to the War seemed in most cases to be sufficient, though astonishing instances were brought to light of poor stipends paid to full-time teachers, lecturers, or professors. Some few Colleges are quite unable to pay an adequate amount to their Fellows. Very few University teachers and administrators, in respect of appointments as such, have received anything approaching £1,000 per annum, and it is impossible to become the Head of a House in some cases without the possession of private means. Such a state of affairs was acquiesced in by the 1850 Commission, but in these days it cannot for one moment be expected that positions of responsibility and authority in a University should only be open to rich men. Poor men should be able to accept the higher posts without fear, and indeed with reasonable profit. In the matter of

College Fellowships there is no suggestion in the Report that the Poverty Clauses should be revived in the case of Fellowships, but the Commissioners make it clear that Fellows must render service either to the College or to scholarship in return for their modest emoluments. The old system of Prize Fellowships, such as are held unconditionally with emoluments for a period of years, they regarded as obsolete and destined wholly to disappear. The whole question is difficult and complicated, and it may be suggested that the maintenance of large houses should be at the charge of the College rather than of the Head himself.

Although the danger of forcing underpaid teachers to undertake other work is not confined to Oxford and Cambridge, it is clear that in Universities of such eminence the whole-time appointments should be subject to the condition that no extra work should be undertaken which interferes with the freshness and power of the teacher. 'The modern Jerusalem,' wrote Principal Viriamu Jones, 'does not indeed kill the prophets ; she is far too economical ; she tempts them to undertake hack work and they are thus deprived of prophetic gift.'

The Commission spent much time in considering arrangements for pension schemes of a contributory nature. If sufficient stipends were secured and pensions provided, the gain would be incalculable. There would be fewer overstrained teachers with a tired and hunted look, trying to make both ends meet by doing extra work, and, when successful in that effort, struggling to avoid undue lecturing and examining. There would also be fewer men, long past their work, holding on to it merely because without the emoluments they could no longer live as they have been accustomed. Except for the administrative posts, it would perhaps be unwise to fix a definite retiring age, but the societies should be able to give honorary appointments to men who are unable to bear the burden of their office. A large sum of money would be required to secure the necessary

stipends and pensions, but secured they must be. If the money does not come from private benefactors, or if the improved organisation of Colleges does not set money free, then it must come, if only indirectly, from the State. Nevertheless, should the Universities not continue, as of yore, to attract and retain scholars of the type that does not care how much the stipend is so long as the work goes on, then they will be poor indeed, and nothing but machines for imparting information which is at everyone's disposal. Already Oxford and Cambridge owe much to men who have refused to leave their work, although tempted by high salaries. For obvious reasons, this position arises most frequently in scientific work. The least that can be done to help men of so fine a spirit is to make sure that the assistants, especially in the laboratories, are paid enough to prevent their seeking a living wage elsewhere.

Such institutions as Colleges inevitably create around them a plethora of vested interests. The Commission found itself face to face with such interests when, acting on the advice of an expert, it set out to make suggestions for reducing the cost of food and other commodities. The proposals, moderate enough—far too moderate in the view of at least one of the Commissioners—have already aroused the wrath of the local associations of traders.

Any careful observer who reads the statements made to the Commission will find that there was an express desire in some quarters for the restraint of College expenditure by a central body. The Commission did not go so far ; they obviously trusted in the results which would follow from a reasonable and understandable publicity of accounts. No one, however expert, could possibly understand, on a comparative basis, the College accounts as published hitherto. In future, they are to ' be kept and published on a uniform basis,' so that even the tyro may be able to discover how and in what way the College monies are distributed. If this requirement is carried out in accordance with the clear

recommendations of the Commission, and both those who are responsible for administration and those who are desirous of reform, take a reasonable interest and care in the matter, many of the anomalies in College expenditure will gradually disappear.

The total income of Oxford in 1920, both University and Colleges included, was £824,710 ; that of Cambridge, £719,554. The Cambridge Colleges received as net external income (including Trusts) £287,961, as against the receipt by Oxford of £398,723. Statistical comparisons are misleading unless all the facts of the case are clearly set out and considered, but the man in the street may be justified in wondering why Cambridge can deal with 3,982 undergraduates in men's Colleges and the non-collegiate body on an income of £110,762 less than Oxford dealing with 3,786 undergraduates. Undergraduates do not make a University, but Cambridge can, at any rate, contend that in the support of scholarship and research she is not one whit behind the sister University.

Turning for a moment from the comparison which may be made between the two Universities to such as may be made between Colleges in the same University, Magdalen is the richest Oxford College ; her total income in 1920 was £92,172, and she had 194 undergraduates and 33 Fellows, in addition to the Head. She paid £13,129 to the teaching staff, and granted £4,057 in scholarships, exhibitions, etc. Let it be remembered that the College has an expensive chapel which it should be encouraged to maintain, and that it is generous to the University, and seldom fails to recognise new claims. Yet, in spite of all this, the ordinary observer will find it difficult to understand why Balliol, with a total income of £20,246, should be able to pay £2,261 more than Magdalen in respect of scholarships and exhibitions, and to support a Head and 15 Fellows, in addition to 264 undergraduates, or 70 more than Magdalen. The academic fame of Balliol has been at times so triumphantly expressed as to be intensely

irritating to the rest of the University. But surely these financial comparisons are matters which in some way or another a University should be able to regulate. The richest College by far at Cambridge is Trinity, with a total income of £105,008, but it is responsible for 624 undergraduates, and pays £30,966 to the Head and 60 Fellows, and £9,687 to Scholars and Exhibitioners.

In the Appendices to the Report of the Commission there is a wonderful array of figures and statistics which, properly dealt with, would produce a most readable book of a curious nature. Among them may be found the accounts of kitchens, together with some caustic comments of Mr. Towle—the expert employed by the Commission—on the excessive prices paid for food, and the frequent absence of business-like control over expenditure. The reader may find himself wondering why Oriel, with 175 undergraduates, made a profit in 1920 on its kitchen service of £1,087, while Queen's, with 245 undergraduates, made a loss of £1,354. If anyone noting these figures made enquiries of undergraduates at Oriel and Queen's, he would find that there was no marked differences in the charge made to them, but the Queen's men would probably lay claim to an extra course at Hall dinner on Sundays. It is only just to say that the apologist for Queen's would probably be able to show that its method of accounting differed from that of other Colleges, and that the uniformity proposed by the Commission would remove once and for all these perplexing difficulties.

The provision of uniform accounts, indeed, which can be compared College by College under the advice of experts, ought to go a long way to secure reform. The anomalies pointed out by Mr. Towle, and the answers thereto by College bursars, are not without interest to the general reader. Such anomalies, of course, are factors in the problem of the cost of living at the Universities, which must be brought down to a minimum, for in the absence of enough money to enable the Universities and Colleges to preserve and develop their

buildings, maintain their laboratories and pay their teachers properly, the amount they can grant out of their own funds for scholarships and exhibitions will certainly not tend to increase.

Ever since the Poverty Clauses were abolished in the last century, the distribution of scholarship, monies has been a subject of much discussion. Efforts have been made to induce Scholars who had ample means at their disposal to return the emoluments, and a College occasionally receives from Scholars who have achieved success in life a donation calculated to cover the value of the scholarships given to them. In this way, money has been set free for exhibitions and the assistance of needy scholars. The amount of help given in Colleges from special funds, and indeed out of private resources of teachers, can never be estimated, but in certain cases it is large enough to astonish many who are unacquainted with the facts of College life. Most of the scholarships have been gained by boys from the Public Schools, or larger town grammar schools, whatever their 'provenance or rank.' Sons of wealthy parents frequently have received £80 per annum out of the monies originally intended to assist poor scholars, not because they were poor, but because they were scholars. The Commission faced this question and, after careful consideration of returns and opinions which they have duly set forth, recommended that 'in future the scholarships offered by Colleges should normally carry with them only the privilege of rooms in college free of rent and rates,' but that both Scholars and Exhibitioners should honourably, and as an indubitable right, be able to make application for financial aid if it were necessary for them to do so. Thus, all Scholars in future would have the much valued privilege of being on the foundation, and would have a sure footing in College, while none would lose the full emoluments should he need them, while at the same time a procedure which, if not an actual scandal, as some maintain, has had at least the appearance of a scandal, would be effectively dealt with.

An experienced Headmaster, who has probably been more active than any other in late years in sending poor boys to the Universities, appeals strongly for a place to be found for undergraduates who are willing not only to attend on themselves, but to perform some of the innumerable tasks of manual labour which call for workers in a University, whether in term or vacation.

> These craftsmen [he says] would be outside the Collegiate systems and so lose much of the old historic traditions. But they would soon have a small hostel and develop a corporate life of their own—shovelling their coal, doing their own domesticities, washing, digging, mending boots, etc. A boy coming from school would have no skilled work to offer. He might be trained for gardening. If they are to retain their health, they would have to avoid indoor work like tailoring and cobbling.

In criticism of this proposal all manner of obstacles may be raised, but the only important problem is how to secure, by hook or by crook, that the best potential scholars should find a place in the main streams of academic life.

If the Universities themselves cannot offer more scholarships or further opportunities, the only hope for the poor student will be in the new grants to the Universities by the State, in an extension of the system of State scholarships, and in the grants made by Local Education Authorities. New money for the Universities will only be provided to a sufficient extent if the bodies responsible for public expenditure are convinced that there are no undue charges and that a reasonably simple mode of living obtains.

An immediate danger unfortunately looms on the horizon. The demand for economy in English administration will tend for a time to prevent that increase of scholarships which is plainly desired by the more far-seeing of the English people. Consequently, unless the actual costs of living at the Universities are lessened, the Colleges will tend to remain largely the preserves of the well-to-do, in flat contradiction of the intentions

of their founders and of the necessities of their own right existence. Fortunately, it would not seem possible that existing grants for State and local scholarships will be disturbed, though in these days it is easy to be too confident.[1] But, even so, the difficulty which poor men have in accumulating the necessary £200 to £220 a year for Oxford or Cambridge life (with an increase in the case of science students) will be too great for them to bear, and will make them turn to the newer Universities where living is cheaper, with the result that many able students will be excluded from Oxford and Cambridge, and only those of them who are able to undertake post-graduate courses consequent upon exceptionally brilliant achievement will find themselves able to reside there. Such a result would prevent the rise of the intellectual standard in both places, and would be in all senses of the word a calamity reaching in its effects far beyond the boundaries of the nation. The belief in education in England is, however, still extending so steadily that it is to be hoped that economy will be prevented from running amuck. An Oxford and Cambridge given up, not so much as in the past to the sons of landowners, whose economic position has been much depressed, as to the sons of those who have made sudden coups in trade, would be tragic in the extreme.

Nothing has done more in recent years to inspire a large number of people with an ideal of University education than the practice, which has been gradually extended in several Colleges, of allowing approved educational and other bodies to hold week-end conferences and vacation schools within them. Apart from the activities of the bodies concerned with University Extension Lectures and Tutorial Classes, the most notable of these Vacation Schools have been those conducted in connection with the Board of Education for

[1] We were too confident. The State Scholarships, of which two hundred were awarded in 1920 and 1921, have been cut off, and no new awards have been made since 1921. Seventy-four State scholars have been in residence at Oxford and ninety-seven at Cambridge; the remainder have entered at other Universities.

elementary and secondary school teachers in both science and history. For the rest, quite a number of educational movements have received new impetus from a week-end spent in College, like that experienced by the ship-owners and trade unionists interested in the education of the men and women of the British Mercantile Marine, who assembled in Caius College, Cambridge, in June 1922. The practice of providing for such schools and conferences will result in a mitigation of the difficulties consequent upon using the college kitchens and servants for only six months of the year. It has excited the scorn of some Oxford men, however. The Sub-Rector of Exeter, writing in the *Nineteenth Century*, says : 'There are actually Colleges amongst us which, as if they were mere hotels, let out their rooms and provide food to "congresses" in vacation. And the "Albergisti" (if I may coin the word) among us count adherents among Fellows with no Bursarial anxieties or hopes. Surely this is a degradation, when Master Tinkers or Philargyrists hope to find annual harbourage and hospitality (at a price) within the walls of St. Luke's College.'

Yet it is far from a 'degradation,' but an altogether commendable way of allowing a larger number to enjoy the beauties of the place, and to feel the inspiring influence of an old tradition unknown before to them. Anyone who has had the least opportunity of observing the effect of even a week-end in a College will be convinced that nothing but good, and much of that, has resulted. The more the Colleges do this work in the spirit in which it has been done hitherto, the better for English life and letters. Custodians of the foundations should strive to enable as many Englishmen as possible to share, if only for a moment, in the rich heritage of the past.

Thus, having only just discussed certain characteristics of the Report of the Commissioners, it is necessary to pass on. The Universities and the reformers alike must take the Report rather as an aid to development in the future than vindicating the present. It records

rather what has been done in the past, cuts certain cords, and maps out certain parts of the way towards the future that is desired by all who care for learning rather than for amenities. So far, the only financial result has been to make permanent the temporary grant of £30,000 per annum.

Before this book is published the Statutory Commissioners, it is hoped, will be appointed, and further discussion will have taken place in both Houses of Parliament,[1] but nothing can obliterate the fact that Oxford and Cambridge, in the judgment of an impartial tribunal, have been given encouragement, and a public expression of confidence, such as they have never received previously in their whole history. If they want to free themselves from public funds, then they must follow the advice of the Commissioners and stimulate those numerous sons and daughters who have passed out into life, and have achieved financial success, to render to them that aid which is fitting and appropriate, and which hitherto, except in a few notable instances, has been unaccountably withheld. At all costs the joy and happiness of undergraduate life—something of what the Senior Tutor of Exeter set forth in the *Nineteenth Century*—must be maintained 'by teaching now as always the spirit of liberty in thought, the spirit of adventure in thinking, the resolute passion to discover and to know, the reverence and admiration for learning, the meaning of study, all amid surroundings of vigorous life and with the enjoyment of a happiness perhaps unknown and unattainable elsewhere.' But such things are not dependent upon luxury ; they follow inevitably, whatever the standard of living, from a life of fellowship devoted to a high purpose. There is no need in this conclusion to repeat the list of things that must be done and of relationships that must be cultivated.

[1] 'A Bill intituled An Act to make further provision with respect to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and the Colleges therein' was read for a first time in the House of Lords on March 22, 1923.

The reports of Commissions can speak of organisation, of co-ordination and of economies, but the achievement of these things would be of no ultimate value if those which a Royal Commission cannot recommend failed to be expressed. Somehow or other, Undergraduates, Graduates, Scholars, Fellows, and Heads of Houses, must all alike be moved by the spirit of devotion and sacrifice ; a large proportion of them, at least, must be of a type that, if they stopped to think about the matter, would count all well lost which would hinder the spirit of wisdom and the attainment of knowledge. If this be the prevailing spirit, the twentieth century, in spite of present troubles and of the recent years of devastating war, is yet full of hope and will prove to be an era of unprecedented greatness in both Universities.

CHAPTER XII

STATESMEN AND SCIENTISTS

Of divines we have already made record. Philosophers move in the spirit of speculation through all our pages. There are poets behind every scene. Even Shelley studied chemistry at Oxford in the days before his restless and adventurous spirit proved too embarrassing for the College within which he was but ill confined. As for Shakespeare, he kept clear of both Oxford and Cambridge, and only remembered the former when he contemplated the extensive deeds of Wolsey. There have been many speculations as to the effect of a college education upon the Bard of Avon, in which even 'Baconians' may have joined appropriately. 'One name indeed is wanting to the glory of Cambridge,' said William Everett in 1864, 'the only one that could have raised its glory higher.'[1] Cambridge is indeed the nursing-mother of poets. They make a majestic procession down the years, the chief among them such as Spenser (1552 ?–1599), Milton (1608–1674), Wordsworth (1770–1850), Tennyson (1809–1902).

That poetry is the natural companion of science would be a proposition hard to maintain, yet Wordsworth was strangely drawn to the thought of Newton, and, rash as it may seem, there are those who hold that mathematics in its higher reaches enters the realm of pure poetry. In any case, both science and poetry have

[1] William Everett, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, was Lowell Lecturer in 1864. He delivered twelve lectures on the University of Cambridge in England. No other lectures on Oxford or Cambridge were delivered on the same foundation until the course of the present writer in March 1922.

hitherto flourished more on the Cam than on the Isis, where statesmanship and majestic prose have found ample nourishment and inspiration. Complementary thus, the one to the other, the two Universities have worked together for the service of man by the development of their respective gifts.

The statesman and the scientist, inspired by the divine and purified by the poet and the musician, are the destined constructors of the age to be. They must work in conscious harmony. Science may show man how to triumph over his material limitations, but, unless its achievements are revealed to men filled with the spirit of wise statesmanship in its noblest aspects, the end of scientific work, for a time at least, may be the ruin of the civilisation which provided the material basis of its adventure and research.

The achievements of science are but a foretaste of the wonders to be. When the atom is so resolved as to make possible the transmutation of the elements, or when 'the explosion of the atom in a few pounds of material weight' is so managed as 'to shatter a continent,'[1] the last ounce of inspired statesmanship will need to be utilised. Moreover, 'the greater part of Natural Philosophy is the outcome of the structure and mechanism of the atom.'[2] The thoughts that moved the mind of the Oxford friar in 1253 have so developed as to need more than the mind of a nation to hold them in 1923. The overflowing streams of philosophers and scientists from Oxford and Cambridge make glad, not a country or an Empire, not even the English-speaking peoples, but the whole earth, even the 'City of God.' They do that or they fail.

But it is certainly easier, and perhaps more profitable, to think awhile of the college days of a few statesmen and scientists in the more recent past, whose names

[1] The Romanes lecture, 1914: 'The Atomic Theory,' by Sir J. J. Thomson, O.M., Cavendish Professor of Experimental Physics in the University of Cambridge; now Master of Trinity.

[2] As previous note.

are on the records and whose work has been caught up in the creative achievements of their time. Of those not educated at Oxford and Cambridge, who companied with them or outshone them in the Parliament, or strove to penetrate further into the secrets of nature, we may make at most a passing mention. There is no room or time for more.

Sir Robert Walpole (1676–1745) and the Younger Pitt (1759–1806) both hail from Cambridge. Pitt took England skilfully through chaos and war, and Walpole, with no less ability, maintained peace. Walpole went from Eton to King's, a well-trodden path, but leading to statesmanship much less surely than that from Eton to Christ Church, Oxford. It is remarkable that the Elder Pitt (1708–1788), who took yet another path—Eton and Trinity, Oxford—should have turned to Pembroke Hall at Cambridge when he wished his gifted boy to dazzle a University.[1] Because of sickly health, he had allowed him to miss Eton, and he had no two minds as to the Jacobitism of Oxford. So, fortified with port wine, the feeble-bodied boy with a powerful, if in some senses mediocre, mind entered at fourteen upon a course which led straight to the Premiership at twenty-four. 'Oh, my country! How I leave my country!' were his last words, twenty-three years later. He never rallied from the shattering force of Austerlitz,[2] which was to him the death-knell of the Europe he had sought to construct.

It is a far cry back from the time of the Pitts to that

[1] The following is an extract from Pitt's letter to the Master of Pembroke Hall: 'Apprehensions of gout about this season forbid my undertaking a journey to Cambridge with my son. I regret this more particularly, as it deprives me of an occasion of being introduced to your personal acquaintance and that of the Gentlemen of your Society; a loss I shall much wish to repair, at some other time. . . . Such as he is, I am happy to place him at Pembroke; and I need not say how much of his Parents' Hearts goes along with him.'

[2] At the Battle of Austerlitz, fought on December 2, 1805, Napoleon defeated the Austrians and the Russians, with the result that his power was established for a decade in Europe.

of Oliver Cromwell, who in the seventeenth century nearly succeeded in giving England, for good and all, a constitution based on certain 'fundamental laws,' such as the descendants of the Puritan settlers developed in the United States of America. At the end of his seventeenth year, Cromwell entered as a Fellow Commoner of Sidney Sussex at Cambridge, the College denounced by Laud as 'one of the nurseries of Puritanism.' There he was welded into such stern stuff as men are seldom made of. 'There can be no doubt,' writes John Morley, 'in what sort of atmosphere Cromwell passed those years of life in which the marked outlines of character are unalterably drawn.' Dr. Samuel Wood, Master of Sidney Sussex (*d.* 1642), was a Calvinist of the extreme type. As for those stern great men who faced arrogance with courage even to death, John Hampden (1594–1643), John Pym (1584–1643), and Sir John Eliot (1592–1643), they were all Oxford men, who, like Cromwell, entered at one or other of the Inns of Court, the establishment of which rendered unnecessary much of the study of law which would otherwise have been undertaken at the Universities.

Cromwell in the days of his power was ever a patron of learning. He not only defended Oxford and Cambridge against the attacks of the zealots who would have abolished or at least disendowed them, but he became Chancellor of Oxford (1651–1657), where he founded a Readership in Divinity and enriched the Bodleian. He would fain have seen a University created in the North to bring forth 'such happy and glorious fruits as are scarce thought of or foreseen.' He did actually found a College at Durham, which went the way of all his removable works at the Restoration.

Sir John Eliot, though an Oxford man, was a valiant fighter against Charles I on behalf of Cambridge privilege. On the death of Chancellor Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, in 1626, the King named Buckingham, the Favourite, as his successor. As Sir Benjamin Rudyard, M.P. for Portsmouth, wrote to Sir Francis

Nethersole, M.P. for Corfe Castle, 'Lord Suffolk died on Sunday morning and on Monday Laud went to Cambridge to solicit the Chancellorship for the Duke.' 'But Cambridge has always had some voice for herself,' adds Forster in his 'Biography,' 'and this monstrous proposal, though accepted by her Heads, was resisted by her younger members of convocation, who hastily put forward Lord Berkshire, Suffolk's son, and ran Buckingham so hard that, notwithstanding royal influence used without scruple or shame, he was returned by a majority of only three.' In all the proceedings, both at the University and in Parliament, Eliot took as active a part as was allowed to him.

Of all the 'petrels' of the stormy times of Civil War, Protectorate, and Restoration, few weathered more gales than Anthony Ashley Cooper (1621–1683), first Earl of Shaftesbury, royal minister, founder of the 'Whigs,' and the earliest active 'party politician.' He passed from the service of Charles I to that of the Parliament in 1644, and received formal pardon in 1660 from Charles II, only to die, after much plotting, an exile in Amsterdam. He has left us details of his year as a Gentleman Commoner at Exeter College, Oxford, where, by giving 'the activest of the lower rank' leave to eat at his charges, he recruited a kind of body-guard. 'This expense, my quality, proficiency in learning and natural affability easily not only obtained the good-will of the wise and elder sort but made me the leader even of all the rough young men of that college and did then maintain in the schools coursing against Christ Church, the largest and most numerous college in the University.' This 'coursing' appears to have been a degenerate form of rivalry between Colleges at Disputations in which 'affronts, confusion and very often blows' took the place of 'fair trials of learning,' despite the efforts of Proctors or even Vice-Chancellor.

It is easy to see where Shaftesbury first was able to exercise that power of managing others whilst keeping himself immune. 'I was often one of the disputants

and gave the sign for their beginning ; but being not strong of body, was always guarded from violence by two or three of the sturdiest youths.'

He took a leading part in two other matters. 'The one I caused that ill custom of tucking freshmen [1] to be left off ; the other when the senior fellows designed to alter the beer of the college, which was stronger than other colleges, I hindered their design.'

This charming young baronet, with no lack of means, a generous spirit, and a love of intrigue and power, made for himself an exciting Oxford year. The College must have felt dull when he left for Lincoln's Inn, without a degree, at the age of seventeen ; but it may be suspected that Dr. John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter, was not altogether unrelieved in mind.

In later years the power to manipulate men and to direct a mob, developed thus early at Oxford, was used by him to some effect. The 'Abhorrers' were skilfully organised by him in the Parliament of 1680 (out of this party grew the 'Whigs') and were supported outside by the Green Ribbon Club, which so alarmed Charles II that he summoned the Parliament of 1681 to meet at Oxford, away from the London influence of Shaftesbury.

When Shaftesbury died, Henry St. John, first Viscount Bolingbroke, unique among early Tory leaders, was but five years old. He passed to Christ Church through Eton. 'Appalling, charming, haunting St. John' shone among his fellows and stirred his age. This 'democratic Tory' and 'consummate posture maker,' it is said, has been 'more discussed and less read than any great figure of the past.'

Although Oxford is commonly regarded as the nursery of statesmen, and Cambridge as the nursery of

[1] Tucking : 'A foolish custom of great antiquity,' writes Cooper, 'that one of the Seniors in the evening called the freshmen . . . to the fire and made them hold out their chin, and they with the nail of their right thumb, left long for that purpose, grate off all the skin from the lip to the chin, and then cause them to drink a beer glass of water and salt.'

THE PEPYSIAN LIBRARY, MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

scientists, yet it has been convenient to consider the Cambridge statesmen first, as later, when dealing with scientists, we shall begin with Oxford. The Younger Pitt has already been mentioned; we have now to think of Pitt the Elder, the great orator and statesman of the eighteenth century. It was usual for the sons of great houses to have a governor to whom all dues were paid. Pitt was entrusted to a Mr. Stockwell, who informed Robert Pitt, his father, that a Servitor was necessary. 'Tis much more customary and creditable to a gentleman of family to be attended by a footman.'

The Elder Pitt left Oxford early because of gout. Later the Jacobitism of Oxford gave him opportunity to exercise his humour in an unexpected way. 'People,' said Robert Nugent, arguing that there were no Jacobites in England, 'sometimes reared those whom they thought would be Jacobites but who turned out very differently. So had he seen in his rural retirement a hen, which had hatched ducks' eggs, watch with apprehension her nurslings betake themselves to the water.' Pitt at once said, 'with solemn pleasantry, that this image had greatly struck him, "For, Sir, I know of such a hen."' The hen, it appeared, was the University of Oxford, but he begged the House not to be sure that all she hatched would ever entirely forget what she had taught them.' It was, perhaps, a recollection of what he called 'a flagrant proof of the disloyalty of that learned body,' which caused him to turn the steps of his brilliant son to Cambridge. When 'walking down the High Street he examined a print in a shop window of a young Highlander in a blue ribbon, and was shocked to read the motto, "Hunc saltem everso Juvenem"' (Forbid not at least this young man to come to the rescue of an upset world).

Of all the Oxford statesmen, none in their undergraduate days seems to have played so much with the fires of dissipation as did Charles James Fox (1749–1806), encouraged thereto by Lord Holland, his father. Yet he was in reality a hard reader. He mastered

mathematics. 'I believe they are useful and I am sure they are entertaining,' said this 'our first great statesman of the modern school.' 'Every moment that he could spare from gaming and flirting he spent in devouring Dante and Ariosto.' This is a fair description of his two years at Hertford.

Sir Robert Peel (1788–1850), the Tory founder of Free Trade, a main plank in the platform of nineteenth century Liberalism, came from Harrow to Christ Church, where like George Canning (1770–1827), nearly twenty years before him, he was brought under the influence of Cyril Jackson. 'Let no day pass without your having Homer in your hand,' counselled the Dean, 'elevate your own mind by continual meditation on the vastness of his comprehension and unerring accuracy of all his conceptions.' A new temper had arisen in Oxford since the days of the Elder Pitt. A course of hard study, crowned by success in the new Honours School, was recognised as a fitting preliminary to the stern career of a statesman in times when colossal difficulties at home and abroad faced the Parliament. Cyril Jackson was justified in his pupil. No one before Peel achieved a Double First in mathematics and classics in the Honours School which the Dean had done so much to establish.

Eton and Christ Church both account for William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898), Lord Salisbury (1830–1903), and Lord Rosebery among the nineteenth century Premiers. Palmerston (1784–1865) was at Harrow and St. John's, Cambridge. Lord Grey (1764–1845), who passed the first Reform Bill, was at Eton and Trinity, Cambridge. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (1836–1908) passed through Glasgow to Trinity, Cambridge, where also Earl Balfour, now Chancellor of Cambridge, and his brothers, gained much distinction. Lord John Russell (1792–1878) went to Edinburgh from Westminster, whilst Benjamin Disraeli, first Earl of Beaconsfield (1804–1881), went direct to Lincoln's Inn from a private school.

Of all these, Gladstone was most typically a University man. He has much to say of Oxford. 'There is not a man who has passed through that great and famous University that can say with more truth than I can say : "I love her from the bottom of my heart."' He, like Peel, achieved a Double First. Carried away by his interest in the viva-voce part of his examination, he tempted the examiners to listen to a fresh stream of his learning, when, satisfied as to his brilliancy in that branch of his studies, they were anxious to pass on to another.

In later life he often discussed the influence of Oxford teaching upon him. It had

rather tended to hide from me the great fact that liberty is a great and precious gift of God and that human excellence cannot grow up in a nation without it. And yet I do not hesitate to say that Oxford had even at this time laid the foundations of my liberalism. School pursuits had revealed little ; but in the region of philosophy she had initiated if not inured me to the pursuit of truth as the end of study. The splendid integrity of Aristotle, and still more of Butler, conferred upon me an inestimable service. Elsewhere I have not scrupled to speak with severity of myself, but I declare that while in the arms of Oxford, I was possessed through and through with a single-minded and passionate love of truth, with a virgin love of truth, so that although I might be swathed in clouds of prejudice there was something of an eye within, that might gradually pierce them.

Gladstone's life is indeed interwoven with University affairs, and particularly with those of Oxford, which he represented in Parliament as a Peelite M.P. from 1847–1865. Originally he opposed the removal of theological tests for University degrees in 1865, but he was Prime Minister when the Tests Bill was passed in 1872. The Commission of 1850 he denounced, but his 'whole heart' was in the Bill of 1853, which he framed and carried. Merely to mention all that Gladstone did would fill a chapter, and, fortunately, Lord Morley's monumental 'Life' is easy of access.

As Gladstone lay dying, he replied to a message from the Hebdomadal Council :

> There is no expression of Christian sympathy that I value more than that of the ancient University of Oxford, the God-fearing and God-sustaining University of Oxford. I served her, perhaps mistakenly, but to the best of my ability. My most earnest prayers are hers, to the uttermost and to the last.

One of the most perplexing figures that ever irritated Gladstone, or even Disraeli, was Lord Randolph Churchill (1849–1894). He went to Merton from Eton, but lived ' much with the Christ Church set, which at that time saw regrettably little of the rest of the University.' ' Randy,' as he was called, an *enfant terrible* of Parliament, evidently lost no time in getting into his stride at Oxford, if we may accept a story of his college days, which Lord Rosebery remembered and believed to be true.

> There was pending an election at Woodstock, then practically a close borough of the Dukes of Marlborough, and his Merton tutor took an active part in opposition to the Blenheim candidate. In the course of one of his speeches he told an anecdote which appeared to reflect severely on the Duke. After this Randolph ceased to attend his lectures, and this systematic neglect was laid before the Warden. Randolph's excuse was absolute and overwhelming. ' How, Sir, could I attend the lectures of one who had called my father a scoundrel ? How could I reconcile attendance at his teaching with my duty towards my parents ? ' Tradition says that he got the best of it.

The statesmen who have received their early training at Oxford and Cambridge in recent times have been strongly influenced by the notable development of critical study and research in classics, history, and modern literature. This modern scholarship, indeed, has made so vigorous an advance as to claim already the strength of a tradition. No University man to-day need go down without knowing something of the untiring zeal for scholarship and the sympathetic study of social and historical problems shown by men like William Stubbs (1825–1901), Servitor of Christ Church, and Fellow

of Trinity College, Oxford ; Frederick William Maitland (1850–1906) of Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, and Downing Professor of the Laws of England ; York Powell (1850–1904), Fellow of Oriel and Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford ; or William Cunningham (1849–1921), Fellow of Trinity ; or of the critical appreciation of beauty in language and literature so manifest in the work of such men as Walter Skeat (1835–1912), the Anglo-Saxon Scholar ; or Sir Walter Raleigh (1861–1922), Merton Professor of English Literature at Oxford. The undergraduate today lives in an atmosphere of discussion which is charged with the products of the new ' Humanities.' If he will, he can—and he does—take the lessons he has learnt from literature, economics, and history to help him in the problems of modern statesmanship.

For better or for worse, then, Oxford and Cambridge have been the training-grounds of English statesmanship. They have fostered in their pupils the energy and fire which afterwards have inspired the lives of many not of them. In a Review, not many years since, Labour leaders were asked to state the sources of their inspiration ; not one of them expressed a debt to a University. But William Morris (1834–1896) and John Ruskin (1819–1900) were both Oxford men, whilst H. M. Hyndman (1842–1922) was of Cambridge, and the work of these men had influenced practically every one of them.

A school of Labour statesmanship [1] has, indeed, been started at Oxford, deliberately outside the jurisdiction of the University. It desires to remain independent of the University, feeling that by doing so it can better serve its students and the cause of learning. But both Oxford and Cambridge, as we have seen, have set themselves to meet new demands made by working men and women in a new time.

[1] Ruskin College had in February 1923 some forty students in residence, of whom seven were women.

The Cabinets [1] of yesterday and to-day are made up far less of Oxford and Cambridge men than those of former years, but this is inevitable in times which offer unparalleled variety of experience and which block the path of none of them with prejudices, however excellent. It matters not at all that Oxford and Cambridge men should achieve office, but it matters profoundly that they should pour their best thought and spirit into a nation and a time which need their whole-hearted service, purified and illumined by consecration to truth and the common good.

It is because of this that just as in the early nineteenth century, before the Reform Bill, the aristocrat who aimed at the career of a statesman, turned naturally to Oxford or Cambridge, seeking the powerful aids of a First Class in the Schools, and the President's Chair in the Union, so in the twentieth century the would-be Labour statesman will turn there also, more mature in years and experience though he may be. If he be too old himself, he will send his sons,[2] for he is determined

[1] In the Coalition Cabinet of Mr. Lloyd George, which resigned in November 1922, there were eighteen Ministers; of these, four, Earl Balfour, Sir Stanley Baldwin, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and Sir A. Mond were Cambridge men, and six, Viscount Birkenhead, Marquess Curzon, Viscount Peel, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, the Earl of Crawford, and Sir A. G. Boscawen, were Oxford men.

In the Conservative Cabinet of Mr. Bonar Law, which assumed office in November 1922, there were sixteen Ministers; of these, four, Sir Stanley Baldwin, Mr. W. Bridgeman, the Duke of Devonshire, and Sir Montague Barlow, were Cambridge men, and nine, the Marquess of Salisbury, Viscount Cave, Marquess Curzon, Viscount Peel, Colonel Amery, Sir P. Lloyd Graeme, Sir A. G. Boscawen, Mr. Edward Wood, and Sir R. Sanders, were Oxford men.

Cambridge has seventy-five representatives in the 1922 Parliament. Of these, fifty-seven are Conservative, eight National Liberal, five Labour, four Liberal, and one Independent. Oxford has eighty-four representatives in the 1922 Parliament. Of these, sixty-seven are Conservative, eight National Liberal, four Labour, and five Liberal.

[2] Among others, Mr. Arthur Henderson, the Labour Whip, sent his son to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he became a member of the committee of the Union; and Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald has a son at Queen's College, Oxford. Mr. G. N. Barnes, engineer, and Mr. J. R. Clynes, general labourer, are Honorary Doctors of Oxford, and Mr. J. H. Thomas, engine-driver, of Cambridge.

that, whatever else the Universities are to do, they shall be increasingly democratic in spirit and, having won the heart of the whole community, shall become as accessible to the wage-earning people as they have been to the country gentleman and the professional classes.

These statesmen, drawn from every experience of life, have in front of them an enormous task, so to order society that the vast stores of material energy which the scientists are unlocking may be used for the welfare of man, and not diverted to his destruction. The danger of our time is that the spirit of man may fail to control the machines he creates and the forces set free. The scientist himself has always been splendidly adventurous and regardless of self ; or how otherwise could he unravel nature's secrets ? It is not of him that we need be afraid, but of the host of others who follow in his wake. The history of science at the Universities reads like a romance, in which there are both villains and heroes, with a fair lady, even Truth, to be won.

The Oxford scene opens in the thirteenth century, when Roger Bacon distinguished between the true science and the false in the famous words : ' Sine experientia nihil sufficienter sciri potest ' (without experiment it is impossible to know anything sufficiently). His teaching fell on ears that could not hear, and experimental science never really secured a firm foothold in either Oxford or Cambridge until the nineteenth century. It always seemed so ' unacademic.' Even so, in its early days Oxford became, as Bacon testified, the first school of mathematics in Europe. The fourteenth century was indeed a time of notable teachers ; among them Thomas Bradwardine (1290 ?–1349), the greatest mathematician of the time ; Richard of Wallingford (1292–1336), skilful in the liberal sciences and the mechanical arts ; and William Rede (*d.* 1385), who built the library of Merton College.

All this time it is not easy to discover men of equal note in Cambridge ; indeed, we have to wait until the

time of Cuthbert Tonstall (1474–1559) and Robert Recorde (1510–1558), both of whom deserted Oxford for Cambridge (it is recorded that the former found the philosophers of Oxford too trying), before we can assume an important school of mathematics there. These two men, who may be regarded as the real founders of what eventually became the most powerful school of mathematics in the world, were the first-fruits of a sixteenth-century revival, almost coincident with the Renaissance, which followed upon a period of lethargy in the fifteenth century. On their departure from Oxford, mathematics sank to a low level, and never again reached, or even attempted to reach, the heights of Cambridge, even though Savile founded his chair at Oxford in 1619, fifty years before Cambridge appointed a Professor.

The coming to Oxford of Robert Boyle (1627–1691) in 1654, whose 'greatest delight was in Chymistrey,' marks the break-up of the exclusive sway of Aristotle. The Warden of Wadham, Dr. Joseph Wilkins, tempted him there; he greatly desired his conversation at Oxford, where, he writes, 'You will be the means to quicken and direct us in our enquiries.' Boyle remained in Oxford for fifteen years, living in a house on the place where the Shelley Memorial now stands, and next the 'Three Tuns,' which Amherst satirically confused with All Souls.

Here he was encouraged in his researches by the members of the 'Experimental Philosophical Clubbe,' including among them that 'Miracle of a Youth,' 'that prodigious young scholar,' Mr. Christopher Wren, notable as a man of science, but immortal as an architect. 'He was no specialist,' said Dean Inge on the occasion of the Bicentenary celebration of Wren's life and work, 'but a mathematician, an astronomer, a physiologist, as well as an architect.' His genius is as evident to-day in Oxford and Cambridge as it is in the very bounds of the City of London.

Wren and many of his fellow-experimentalists were

prominent in the formation of the Royal Society,[1] which is sufficient in itself to show the interest in scientific thought taken by the Court party in the seventeenth century. This society indeed is often said to have been founded in Oxford. This was not so ; only certain of its members met there, and several of them returned to the London they had left because of the turmoil of the times, before the 'wonderful pacific year' 1660 had drawn to a close.

Peter Sthael, the first regular teacher of practical chemistry, was induced to come to Oxford by Boyle. He was, according to Wood, 'a Lutheran, a great hater of women, and a very useful man.' Among his pupils were Christopher Wren and John Locke. Even Wood himself 'got some knowledge and experience' from Sthael, who in 1664, however, 'for want of disciples went to other places.' This little impetus to a great matter at Oxford achieved results of a practical nature, for salt-glazed earthenware was discovered by John Dwight of Christ Church in 1671, and was followed by the Worcester Porcelain of Dr. John Wall (1708–1776), Fellow of Merton.

But the greatest 'chemist' of them all worked on unappreciated and unknown. John Mayow (1640–1679) anticipated the discoveries of Lavoisier (1775) by more than a century, when he showed that 'the air contained some constituent which is consumed in combustion.' His work was probably carried out in All Souls, with the aid of an apparatus which no one before him had conceived. He was the first chemist to collect gases in flasks or vessels inverted over water, and his methods were not out of date a century later.

It was left, however, to a courtier, one Elias Ashmole

[1] It may be interesting to reproduce here a comment of the *Cambridge Review*, November 1922 : 'It is a great tribute to Cambridge science that of the twenty-one names on the balloting list for the Council of the Royal Society, all but six are Cambridge men (one by adoption). These names include those of the President, both Secretaries, and twelve out of sixteen other members of the Council.'

(1617–1692), to establish the first University Laboratory. This he did as a side-show—or, since it was in the cellar, an 'under-show'—to the Scientific Institution which developed into the Ashmolean Museum. 'The building of the Laboratory,' writes Hyde, the High Steward, to William Wake, 'did so exhaust the University money that no books were bought in severall years after it.' At least £225 was paid out in 1683.

During the eighteenth century, teaching rather than research occupied the energies, such as they were, of the Oxford scientists. It is to Cambridge that our attention must be directed. There Richard Bentley turned aside from his other schemes and his disputes to help forward the development of science, which had gathered impetus from the work of Newton. In 1706 he undertook to erect an observatory over the King's Gate of Trinity for Roger Cotes (1682–1716), who had helped Newton in the reissue of the 'Principia.' With the aid this afforded, Cotes delivered his incomparable lectures on the sublimest subjects of natural philosophy for about ten years. 'Thenceforth Newtonian learning became one great pride of the place in which the mighty genius of its founder had been nurtured and matured.'

Moreover, Bentley tried to make Trinity the focus of all the sciences in the University. John Francis Vigani (1650–1712), a native of Verona, 'a very learned chemist and a great traveller, but a drunken fellow,' had been appointed Professor of Chemistry in 1703, as the reward of several years' teaching. Bentley tempted him to Trinity by fitting up 'an old lumber hole as an elegant chemical laboratory.' It was this professorship to which Richard Watson was appointed in 1764. He knew no chemistry, but he knew how to get a stipend; he applied successfully to the Crown.

The first Professorship of Chemistry at Oxford was not founded until 1803. Dr. Aldrich then endowed it, and the Crown, following the Cambridge precedent, granted £100 a year. Strangely enough, one of the pupils of Dr. Kidd (1775–1851), the first professor, was

none other than Shelley, in whose littered rooms might have been found 'a small glass retort above an argand lamp which soon boiled over, adding fresh stains to the table, and rose in disagreeable fumes.' It is thus not so completely inappropriate that his 'Memorial' occupies the space where Boyle experimented.

These glimpses must not mislead us into thinking that there was real growth in experimental science at either University until the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was not until 1865 that science formed a part of the course for the ordinary degree at Cambridge. The Natural Science Tripos, instituted in 1851, did not lead to the B.A. and Honours until 1861. In that year only six degrees were conferred in Medicine, and only three men took the Natural Science Tripos. Growth at Cambridge can best be appreciated by the fact that in 1861, when Professor Liveing was appointed to the Chair of Chemistry, he had two small rooms, devoid of apparatus, assigned to him as a laboratory. There are now many hundred students in the Chemical laboratories,[1] which have a loyalty all their own as distinguished from College loyalty.

The greatest fact in the whole history of Cambridge is the growth of science since 1850, and there is no more glorious University institution than the Cavendish Laboratory, the gift of the seventh Duke of Devonshire.

As for Oxford, the serious development of science dates from the erection of the University Museum (1855–1860). That University must content itself with having started first in many things, even in appointing a Savilian Professor of Mathematics fifty years before Cambridge, and with having established early in the seventeenth century the first University botanical garden in England.

John Hunter (1728–1793), the great comparative anatomist, resorted to St. Mary Hall, Oxford, at a late age, but 'they wanted to make an old woman of me,'

[1] In June 1922, 763 men and 76 women took Science Examinations.

he says, 'or that I should stuff Latin and Greek at the University.' He added significantly, pressing his thumb on the table, 'These schemes I cracked like so many vermin as they came before me.' He calls to mind his great predecessor, William Harvey, of Caius (1578–1657), 'the little choleric man,' who discovered the fact of the circulation of the blood.

In the early nineteenth century at Cambridge, William Whewell, Master of Trinity; Adam Sedgwick, Professor of Geology; and John S. Henslow (1796–1861), Professor of Botany, must be noted. The triple influence they exerted helped to turn Charles Darwin (1809–1882) from the conventional path of a clergyman, along which in 1828 he proposed to walk, to scale the heights of the naturalist as few, if any, before him had ever done. Charles Darwin lies beside Isaac Newton in Westminster Abbey. 'It is the singular fortune of an illustrious University that of two of her sons, one should have introduced a rational order into the organic, and the other into the inorganic world.'

Darwin got little from academic studies, but he was inspired by great teachers. 'Upon the whole,' he says, 'the three years I spent at Cambridge were the most joyful of my happy life.' He sent all but one of his sons there. Sir Horace Darwin sat on the 1919 Commission.

For the rest, Cambridge must occupy us for the greater part. Not that Oxford is standing still. The brilliant work of Professor Soddy, recently rewarded by the Nobel Prize, the development of chemical research under Professor Perkin, and the astronomical and seismological investigations of Professor Turner render such an idea absurd. But Oxford to this day is not wholly convinced. It is imperative, however, that every effort should be made to place the laboratories, observatories, and theatres of Oxford in the forefront of their time, and by so doing give every opportunity to the great scientists it has either given birth to or adopted. Most certainly the University's fine historical, classical,

and philosophical work must be nourished and developed at all costs, for therein lies its chief glory ; but even in such a responsibility it would have everything to gain and nothing to lose from the competition and assistance of a really first-rate science school, approaching the world's problems from a different angle and throwing a new light on old questions, and built on a firm basis of mathematical scholarships and fellowships, of which there are at present far too few at Oxford, to the impoverishment of certain branches of science.

In this very rivalry between the scientific and philosophical schools Oxford may be able to make its contribution to modern thought, for both parties show an almost jealous interest in each other's work, which bids fair to end in union. This attitude has been expressed more clearly perhaps by the scientists. As early as 1883 J. S. Haldane, writing jointly with Lord Haldane, maintained that 'science and philosophy can no longer be kept wholly apart,' and since that time the desire for co-operation has increased, largely as a result of the work in biology. J. S. Huxley, in the Preface to 'The Individual in the Animal Kingdom,' expresses his gratitude to 'various Oxford philosopher-friends, who have helped to comb out the tangles of a zoologist's mind,' and when dealing with his subject, says, 'The idea of individuality is dealt with of necessity both by Science and by Philosophy, and in such a difficult subject it would be mistaken to reject any sources of help.' 'In conclusion,' he writes, 'I will only hope that this little book may help, however slightly, to decrease still further the gap (to-day happily lessening) between Science and Philosophy and the ideas and interests of everyday life.' The profound influence of Sir William Osler, a Canadian scholar, late Professor of Medicine at Oxford, and his unique combination of the philosopher and the physician, are typical of this development. His writings express throughout the need of philosophy for the scientist and of science for the philosopher. 'But by the neglect of the studies of the humanists, which has been far too

general, the profession loses a very precious quality' ; and again, 'The earliest picture we have in literature of a scientific physician, in our sense of the term, is of a cultured Greek gentleman.' The meeting of the Classical Association in Oxford on May 16, 1919, was a mark of the co-operation of humanism and modern science. Sir William Osler, as President of the Association, recalled the work of Linacre, 'a real Oxford Scholar-physician, an early teacher of Greek in this University, and the founder of the Royal College of Physicians' ; he spoke of Aristotle, who in biology 'speaks for the first time the language of modern science, and indeed he seems to have been first and foremost a biologist, and his natural history studies influenced profoundly his sociology, his psychology, and his philosophy in general' ; and of Lucretius and the atomic theory. As to present-day needs, the speaker considered that 'the so-called Humanists have not enough science, and Science sadly lacks the Humanities,' and urged continued efforts to establish a School dealing with 'the principles of philosophy considered in their relation to the Sciences.' In such a recognition of the unity of knowledge, Sir William Osler saw the hope of the future. 'From over specialisation scientific men are in a more parlous state than are the Humanists from the neglect of classical tradition. The salvation of science lies in a recognition of a new philosophy—the *scientia scientiarum*, of which Plato speaks.'[1] Among younger Oxford biologists, A. D. Darbishire, whose work was cut short by his early death during the War, expressed clearly this sense of the unity of science and philosophy. 'He believed,' writes Helen Darbishire, 'there was no such thing as the purely philosophical or purely scientific or purely practical sphere in his subject. . . . He chafed against the orthodoxy of science, and his cherished desire was to make a contribution towards biology in the strict meaning of the term. The whole sphere of life should be its sphere,

[1] A recent attempt (1923) to establish an Honours School in which natural science and philosophy should be brought into relationship was defeated in Congregation.

he thought ; its basis should be philosophical and its method dispassionately critical. . . . The term "Biology" is used . . . to signify the interpretation rather than the mere description of life.' Darbishire's written works are slight, but they express the spirit of the man (' the problem of evolution is merely a department of the problem of life ')—and with such men the future of Oxford lies.

But Cambridge has done so much. ' Unless I am led astray by too partial an affection for my own University,' said Earl Balfour in 1904,

there is nowhere to be found, in any corner of the world, a spot with which have been connected, whether by their training in youth or by the labours of their maturer years, so many men eminent as the originators of new and fruitful physical conceptions. I say nothing of Bacon, the eloquent prophet of a new era ; nor of Darwin, the Copernicus of Biology ; for my subject to-day is not the contributions of Cambridge to the general growth of scientific knowledge ; I am concerned rather with the illustrious line of physicists who have learned or taught within a few hundred yards of this building : —a line stretching from Newton in the seventeenth century, through Cavendish in the eighteenth, through Young, Stokes, Maxwell in the nineteenth, through Kelvin, who embodies an epoch in himself, down to Rayleigh, Larmor, J. J. Thomson, and the scientific school centred in the Cavendish Laboratory, whose physical speculations bid fair to render the closing years of the old century and the opening years of the new as notable as the greatest which have preceded them.

In January 1922 Sir William Bragg [1] wrote me his own estimate which, since it has not been printed elsewhere, I reproduce at some length :

In the early days of the Cavendish Laboratory under Clerk-Maxwell, the most salient achievements were bound up with the man himself. It was he who brought together the experimental results of Faraday and others and joined them all together in an epoch-making theory ; the electromagnetic theory of light is perhaps the most famous portion of that theory. That idea was essential to the wireless of to-day and to an immense variety of researches, which it would take too long to describe.

[1] Quain Professor of Physics in the University of London.

Lord Rayleigh succeeded Maxwell and carried out a number of his important researches there, among them might be mentioned some of the fundamental measurements of electrical standards ; on them the present standards are based.

In the long reign of J. J. Thomson, the Cavendish has notably contributed to our knowledge of electricity as made up of units ; of the processes of ionisation; of the isolation of the electron and the measurement of its mass and charge, work on which the modern immense developments of physics are largely dependent. These discoveries took place during a short period in the '90's, when a very remarkable body of young men worked together at the Laboratory under Thomson as head. There were Rutherford, C. T. R. Wilson, still at the Cavendish, H. A. Wilson, now in Canada, Townsend, now at Oxford, Zeleny, in the United States, and two or three others. During that period the electron theory made immense strides.

Of late, under Rutherford's guidance has appeared some very remarkable work by himself on the possibilities of transmuting the atoms. Also the remarkable papers by Aston on Isotopes, that is to say, on atoms which have different weights and yet, since they possess the same electrical charge, are chemically indistinguishable.

You will see that these researches, taken as a whole, form a great part of the world's contribution to modern physics. Moreover, the Cavendish has sent out men to be Directors of Research in all parts of the world. . . .

It is curious that most of the world's work on radio-activity has been done either in colonial laboratories or by colonials.

So the attack on the atom goes on. J. J. Thomson and Ernest Rutherford lead the team work at the Cavendish. 'Soon it may no longer be necessary to search the world for lodes and veins of rare metals, or for the stores of energy in coal and oil. All the various forms of matter, hitherto believed to be the physical data of the universe, are now known to be capable of transmutation the one into the other.'

Yet it is apparently too great, too important, this work upon which the fabric of our civilisation depends, to excite the imagination of the half-seeing State which is parsimonious in its bounty, or of the men who have

money to spend.[1] They more easily lend their aid to picturesque objects such as Antarctic Expeditions or the unearthing of a tomb in the Valley of Kings, or perhaps to immediately useful researches such as those directed towards agricultural improvements. They may well do this last, in the light of what Sir William Beach Thomas has to say in the *Observer* on the work of Professor Biffen at Cambridge :

> He has recently produced perhaps the most perfect ear of wheat ever known by amalgamating the best attributes from many most unprepossessing parents. He can, with regard to wheat, isolate, so to say, extract, any quality he desires and weed out all the others. The pictures of the ancestors of his perfect ear look as disreputable a crew as you could wish to see ; bearded, misshapen, small, dirty. Wheat to-day is yet more nicely adapted to a staple of civilization than ever it was. Mr. Biffen's ' Yeoman,' in comparison with those thousand varieties of the world's wheat that are grown at Reading University, is, and looks, an aristocrat indeed.

In one direction this development of scientific teaching involves a real danger to both Universities, in that the country will demand of them a greater output of useful men, thus damping down the fires of research by the ' slack ' of constant teaching. As it is, the real work of the laboratories must often be done in large part in the vacations. Just now, in a country so blind to this aspect of University work, the opening of the University Term means the closing down of a great part of the work upon which the future of our material civilisation depends. But this danger may be avoided by careful organisation and reasonable financial support. The comparatively few men who have real originality and ability should not be kept in line with the many who are good average men,

[1] Since this was written, Sir Alfred Yarrow, in a letter dated February 6, 1923, offered £100,000 to the Royal Society. He preferred ' that the money should be used to aid scientific workers by adequate payment and by the supply of apparatus or other facilities, rather than to erect costly buildings, because large sums of money are sometimes spent on buildings without adequate endowment, and the investigators are embarrassed by financial difficulties.'

capable of doing useful work in the factory or the school, but, unlike the others, not fitted to be in the 'teams' of the Rutherfords and Perkins. Research in a University demands men of different calibre from those who can work well in the technical college, and it is of first importance that scientific research should be sustained by giving full opportunity to those who are capable of devoting themselves profitably to its service.

Moreover, practical utility must never bear down the adventurous energies of our men of research. The cultivation of understanding is more important than the pursuit of riches, and the two are as removed from one another as the earth from the heavens. 'Few things could have seemed more remote from practical utility,' writes the scientific correspondent of the *Times*, 'than the fractional distillation of Crookes, Ramsay's reweighing of the inert gases, the Curies' work on the heavy earths, J. J. Thomson's investigations on electrons, Soddy's isotopes, Aston's spectroscopy, Rutherford's investigations of radiographic emanations. Yet out of these has come a prospect, not on the remote horizon, but actually materialising in the University laboratories, of a change that will revolutionise the fabric of civilisation.'

The scientist is a strange, simple child of nature, who must be used aright by the community in which he lives. The full value of his life and labours will not be secured if there be not statesmen, and indeed prophetic ones at that, to see that he has free scope and the honour that is his due, but, more important still, that his discoveries are rightly used and venerated.

Thus, after fleeting and haphazard glances, we leave these two great groups of men, so widely different, so often misunderstanding one another, yet really existing in indissoluble unity. Cambridge of the scientists, Oxford of the statesmen ; well, even if that were wholly true, it would not matter much, if they recognised the same source of their inspiration and the same purposes of their being.

CHAPTER XIII

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE IN THE WORLD

THERE is no doubt that the Colleges in both Universities are becoming increasingly cosmopolitan.[1] This development, owing to the natural limits set on their expansion or even on the addition of new foundations, is producing rapidly, if it has not already produced, a situation demanding the application, or rather the invocation, of the highest wisdom. In principle there must be open access to Oxford and Cambridge from the entire world ; so only can they be Universities in the highest sense. But in practice such access will have to be regulated carefully, so that there shall be no waste. The final test inevitably must be the health and strength of the two Universities themselves, not of the countries nor even of the Universities from which the students come.

[1] ' As a cosmopolitan intellectual centre Oxford is a Mecca to which pilgrims flock from all parts of the world: pilgrims with brains, pilgrims without brains ; those who want to learn and those who do not want to learn ; bookworms, athletes, soldiers, ' sports,' workers and idlers ; sons of noblemen, sons of commoners ; not Englishmen alone, but Indians, Japanese, Chinese, Russians, Egyptians, Germans, and Frenchmen. All this variety of student units go about looking very much alike in the conventional " lounge " garb of Oxford, so that only an intimate acquaintance reveals the true cosmopolitanism of its personnel and of its intellectual life.'—*Oxford and the Rhodes Scholarships,* by R. F. Scholz and S. K. Hornbeck.

In a return recently published by the Bureau of Universities of the British Empire, 602 students from overseas are shown to be at Oxford and 414 at Cambridge, but the numbers are manifestly incomplete.

The problem as it affects the College has been put clearly by the Senior Tutor of Exeter :

> If I may judge from the Matriculations in my own Society, one of the average sized Oxford Colleges, the war and other causes have further remarkably diminished the proportion of English to Colonial, American, and foreign undergraduates. The proportion at my College in the six years before the war was on an average 81 per cent. In the last two years, when once again the abnormalities of the war period have largely ceased to affect Matriculations, the proportion has fallen to 66 per cent., viz. 74 English out of a total for the two years of 112 matriculants. Spite of the imperial, spite of the historic and catholic aspect of the matter, I admit myself to some feelings of regret, even of dismay, at this development, at a possible contrast with Cambridge.

The final solution of a difficulty such as this probably lies in recognising the tendency of Oxford and Cambridge to become efficient post-graduate institutions entirely, as in part they already are. This is in the line of their past development. Originally they did work which has since been given over to the grammar schools ; then arose the Winchesters, Etons, and Manchesters, for the purpose of performing this preliminary duty ; so in the twentieth century the newer Universities of England may well provide, not exclusively of course, for all studies up to the Bachelor's degree and send on to Oxford and Cambridge only those who have acquitted themselves well.

Naturally enough, the flourishing and powerful Universities, which I have designated ' newer,' would find much to say in opposition to such a solution. But, since they often do send on their best graduates now, no new principle would really be involved. After all, it is only a general direction that is suggested, and in the case of schools favourably situated for higher work of certain types, such as Sheffield for Metallurgy, Leeds for Textiles, Liverpool for Tropical Medicine, they would draw ' post-graduate ' students, just as Oxford and Cambridge.

The man or woman who is not essentially a ' scholar ' will find three years in his local University, as a rule, sufficient ; it is the scholars who are really wanted at Oxford and Cambridge, and for them seven or eight years is all too short.

' I appeal to the heads of our Universities,' said Sir E. Rutherford, ' to take care that they are not diverted by the magnitude of the undergraduate body, but see plainly that the future of the Universities and the reputation of the countries to which they belong, will ultimately depend to a large extent on the development of Post-Graduate training.' Inevitably, institutions of learning and scholarship in the world must arrange both their content and direction so that they will be complementary to one another in a living unity.

However difficult it may be to place Oxford and Cambridge in such a position in regard to English Universities, it is clear that this must be their position in relation to the Universities of other lands. In saying this, I do not desire to suggest even that Oxford and Cambridge are pre-eminent above all other Universities in the world, but simply that some such means must be taken to meet the situation which is developing there. If I forget this particular problem for a moment in taking the larger view, I am confident it is imperative that the chief Universities of all countries in their own interests should draw students from the whole world.

Since the lectures on which this book is based were delivered in the United States, and the book itself has been written largely for American readers, I propose as far as possible to confine myself to Oxford, Cambridge, and America, but in duty bound I must recognise at the outset that there are fifty-nine Universities in the British Empire more or less daughters of the older Universities of England and Scotland, and must remind myself that Oxford and Cambridge themselves originally branched off from the ' Nations ' in Paris.

Yet at Oxford and Cambridge no University in the British Empire or in Europe is granted precedence or preference over the Universities of the United States. There are indeed in Oxford more students from America than from any other country, or even from the Empire itself. Oxford can claim that it is the only University which has a student from each State of the Union as a definite arrangement. This is due entirely to the benefaction of Cecil John Rhodes.[1]

This fusion of the two great English-speaking peoples in an academic institution of the Old World is, at least, a symbol of unity of interest and aim. 'The confraternity of Rhodes Scholars,' as Viscount Milner said, 'was intended to be a permanent link between all those communities.'

Before proceeding to examine, with the help of their own testimonies, the experiences in Oxford and Cambridge of graduates from one or other of the many Universities of the Union, it will be well to take a few fleeting glances at the beginnings of college life in both the Eastern and Western States.

The researches of J. Gardner Bartlett have shown that among the English who first sought a home in New England there were more Oxford and Cambridge men than was commonly supposed. He himself has compiled a list of 105 Cambridge and 30 Oxford Matriculants, who were among the settlers in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630.[2] These men, mingling with 'the pioneers of this wilderness,' as it then was, formed 'a University element nearly as large in percentage as that in the mother country.' At the outset it must have been much larger.

[1] The number of Rhodes Scholars in Oxford during the academic year 1921–22 was 156 from the British Empire and 144 from the United States of America. Cecil Rhodes left £2,000,000 for the foundation of between 150 and 200 perpetual scholarships at Oxford. At first he did not include the United States, but later, under the beneficent influence of W. T. Stead, who perished in the sinking of the *Titanic*, he did so.

[2] This list is a contribution towards the approaching tercentenary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

'After God had carried us safe to New England,' writes one of them,

> and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust. And as we were thinking and consulting how to effect this great work, it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard (a godly gentleman and a lover of learning, there living amongst us) to give one half of his estate (it being in all about £1,700) towards the erecting of a college, and all his library. After him another gave £300, others after him cast in more, and the public hand of the state added the rest.

John Harvard (1607–1638), as is well known, was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and settled in Charlestown in 1637. He did not live to see the arrival of the first President, Henry Dunster, of Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1640. This courageous and devoted scholar was 'the real founder of American Higher Education.' He reproduced in Newtown, afterwards called Cambridge, the tradition and practice of the College he had loved but left. His few students—only nine at first—declaimed in Latin and Greek and disputed in the old Cambridge manner.

There were, however, no theological tests, at least in form. Yet because Dunster was a disbeliever in infant baptism, he was obliged to resign the Presidency in 1654. The manner of his doing so became the Christian dignity of the life of this 'puritan saint,' who was entirely without 'touch of bigotry or bitterness.' He made no protest, but wrote a letter begging to be allowed to stay in the house he had built until the winter was over, giving among his reasons:

> The place unto which I go is unknown to me and my family, and the ways and means of subsistence to one of my talents and parts, or for the containing or conserving my goods, or disposing of my cattle, accustomed to my place of residence. . . . The place from

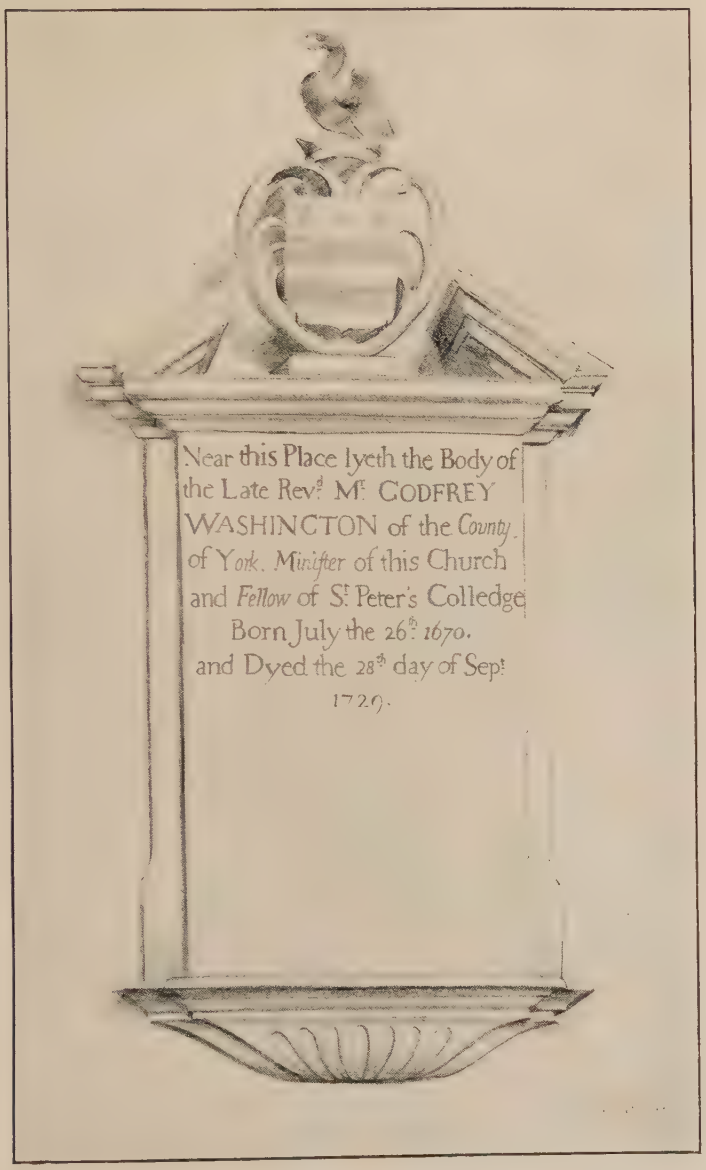
which I go hath fire, fuel, and all provisions for man and beast, laid in for the winter. . . . The persons, all besides myself, are women and children, on whom little help, now their minds lie under the actual stroke of affliction and grief. My wife is sick and my youngest child extremely so, and hath been for months, so that we dare not carry him out of doors.

The request was granted. Dunster's successor in 1654 was Charles Chauncey (1592–1672), a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Laud harried him out of England. He was twice prosecuted for neglect of Church ceremonies; once whilst Vicar of Ware and later as Vicar of Marston St. Lawrence. Thus men of Cambridge watched over the growing College set amid many dangers in a small corner of a mighty continent. As the years passed it grew into a new Cambridge, whose sons 'have played a part in every great crisis in the history of the colony and the nation' and are doing so now throughout the world.

The College of 'William and Mary'[1] was established in Virginia in 1693 by the exertions of a graduate of Edinburgh, after an abortive attempt in 1622 to found an 'Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis.' Oxford, indeed, was left entirely behind in all this pioneering, for Yale in Connecticut was founded mainly by graduates of Harvard, and Elihu Yale, its great benefactor, was himself born in Boston. Princeton was founded in 1746 by Presbyterians of New Jersey. As seen from the railroad, it is strangely reminiscent of the towers of Oxford, but Woodrow Wilson, who, when President, introduced a modification of the Oxford tutorial system, was not encouraged thereafter to refuse an invitation to leave the University and enter the field of politics as Governor of New Jersey.

The Universities of the Western States find their origin in the Territorial Ordinance adopted on May 20,

[1] The College needed funds and appealed to the Lord Treasurer. 'What do you want the money for?' he asked the President. 'To save souls.' 'Souls,' he replied, 'damn your souls! grow tobacco.' However, he granted the College one penny in the pound on all tobacco exported from the colony.


Near this Place lyeth the Body of
the Late Revd Mr GODFREY
WASHINGTON of the County
of York. Minister of this Church
and Fellow of St Peter's Colledge
Born July the 26th 1670.
and Dyed the 28th day of Sept
1729.

A Washington Memorial
in the Church of St. Mary the Less, Cambridge

1785, by the Congress of the Confederation and precedent to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. Provision was made therein for the support of schools and colleges. As a direct result, forty-two State Universities [1] are in existence. Nine States — even such a State as Massachusetts — are without them, but have private foundations. But in all this development the older English Universities had no direct share. The verdict of the most distinguished Oxford scholar, who made the States his home for a brief and memorable period, may well be quoted. Lord Bryce has said :

> One who surveys the progress of the United States during the last fifteen or twenty years finds nothing more significant than the growth of the Universities in number, in wealth, and in the increased attendance of students from all ranks of life. They have become national and popular in a sense never attained before in any country. They have turned a university course from being the luxury which it has been in the Old World into being almost a necessary of life.

The groups of young men from these Universities who come across from New York to the old land are symbolical of America's return. 'These two nations holding cordially together,' said Jefferson more than a century ago, 'having nothing to fear from the united world. They will be models for regenerating the condition of man, the sources from which representative government is to flow over the whole earth.' Rhodes Scholars, by reason of divergent experiences, have added a new excellence to the old. Misunderstandings have been swept from the minds of the stay-at-home youths of England, who now have friends across the sea, gained at the age when all men can most easily reveal themselves to others.

[1] The first to be founded was Tennessee (1794). Not all of them, however, were founded on land grants. Other early Universities not founded under the Ordinance were North Carolina (1795) and Vermont (1800). Pennsylvania, founded in 1755, was only a semi-state foundation. In 1916–17 there were 574 Universities and Colleges reported in U.S.A. with 259,511 students.

It still remains for Cambridge to receive her due share of these young men ; and it is more important still that, for every Scholar arriving at Oxford or Cambridge, at least one English Scholar shall turn his face towards the States. Two great benefactors, whether by Trust or otherwise, are immediately necessary, a Cambridge Rhodes and his American brother.[1]

Misunderstandings there undoubtedly were in former days. When Edward Everett, the American Ambassador, was accorded an Hon. D.C.L. at Oxford in 1842, there was opposition which needed much skill on the part of the Vice-Chancellor to outwit—for outwit the objectors he had to, or allow an insult to a great nation. Oxford, it must be remembered, was a Church of England University and Everett was a Socinian. There the trouble lay.

In the ' Life of Leslie Stephen,' by Frederick Maitland, there appears a significant reminder that academic Cambridge had no great knowledge of, or sympathy with, the University which sprang from its loins. In 1866, when Mr. Henry Yates Thompson offered to endow a lectureship at Cambridge on the ' History, Literature, and Institutions of the United States of America,' the Senate turned down the proposal that ' by way of experiment a lecturer, nominated by Harvard University and approved by the Vice-Chancellor, should be allowed the use of one of the University rooms for a single course of lectures '[2]; and did so by a majority of 110 votes to 82.

[1] The Secretary of the Alumni Association of American Rhodes Scholars, Frank Aydelotte, President of Swarthmore College, Pa., who entered Brasenose as a Rhodes Scholar from Indiana in 1905, has formulated a scheme to this end. At the outset he suggests that ten or fifteen Fellowships should be allotted to selected British Universities. The Fellows should select, within limits, the institution in the States to which they should go, and their number should be gradually increased. Three Henry P. Davison scholarships have happily been founded in the year 1923 open to Cambridge undergraduates and three open to Oxford undergraduates.

[2] On Feb. 13, 1923, Cambridge accepted a sum of 5,000 dollars under the will of Sara Norton, late of Boston, Mass., for the provision of a prize to be awarded annually for the best essay on the political history of the United States of America.

'It will probably be thought by modern readers,' writes Frederick Maitland,

that when Stephen told Lowell that a cry of 'Socinianism!' was raised, this was a joke. Printed papers now lying before me show that the drum ecclesiastic was resoundingly beaten. 'Are members of the Senate aware,' wrote one of the drummers, 'that Harvard University, as far as it professes any form of religion, is distinctly Socinian, or if Americans prefer the term, Unitarian?' Another gentleman thought good to say in print that by receiving a lecturer from Harvard we should 'pander to that which is perhaps the worst vice inherent in the North American character, namely SELF-CONCEIT.' Such were the amenities of the time; such was the use made of capital letters; and such was the wisdom of the senate. It had been believed and hoped at Cambridge, so I am told, that if Harvard had to appoint a Thompson lecturer the choice would have fallen in the first instance upon Lowell.

Oxford was happier in 1922 when it welcomed Samuel Eliot Morison, a son of Harvard, as the first Professor of United States History, to a Chair endowed by an Englishman in memory of his son, Vyvyan Harmsworth, who lost his life in the War. In his Inaugural Lecture the Professor was able to tell the story of the proposed Lectureship at Cambridge and to add the words of James Russell Lowell: 'I doubt if the lectureship could have done much good. England can't like America, and I doubt if I could, were I an Englishman.' For his own part, however, Professor Morison made no doubt of Oxford's welcome.

Your summons to me to occupy this new Chair in the most ancient seat of learning in the English-speaking world is an honour for which I cannot find words to express my deep appreciation. John Dryden in one of his Prologues to the University of Oxford wrote,

> 'Oxford to him a dearer name shall be
> Than his own mother University.'

You will hardly expect one so firmly rooted as I am in Harvard University to go as far as Dryden did, after only ten days in Oxford! But I may say that all of you, and more especially the House which

has made me its guest, have received me in a spirit of such informal friendliness that my heart has warmed to you from the first ; and I can hardly persuade myself that I am in a different country from my own. If, then, I speak with a bluntness not usual among speakers on Anglo-American occasions, my excuse will be that you have not given me a realizing sense of being in a foreign land ; that, on the contrary, you have made me feel as in a sort of family party, in which a somewhat devastating frankness is both customary and expected.

And again :

Happily there remains a residuum of vital things in common ; that common conception of liberty (which Mr. Santayana has so skilfully analysed, and defined as the spirit of free co-operation), a language which we both speak (though, as Bernard Shaw remarked, through different organs !) ; a sense of stewardship under God for the immense domains which He has permitted us to bring under our respective flags ; and a certain sense of superiority over other parts of the world not so favoured. I yield to no man in my ardent desire that the century of peace between Great Britain and the United States may be perpetual. I look forward to the time when English-speaking nations and dominions will be associates with other liberty-loving peoples in some form of world federation.

There is no doubt that the advent of the Rhodes Scholars has been good for Oxford, even though it cannot be claimed that they have in any large proportion scaled the heights of its scholarship.[1] They have, from one point of view, done more than that, in that they have strengthened its spirit and its power and enabled it to build its thought upon a broader basis. Lord Curzon, speaking in 1921, rejoiced in them as a 'refreshing stream.'

The ordinary United States' citizen may perhaps ask if it is good for America. He may fear for the strength and character of young men, transplanted for a while to the Old World at an impressionable period of their lives ; but those who observe the men and their

[1] In the Final Honours School, 1922, seven gained first classes, one in Natural Science, and six in Jurisprudence ; thirty-one gained second classes, and twenty-three gained third classes. The Chancellor prize for an English essay was awarded to a Scholar from Oregon.

doings have no doubt. They discover the best of Oxford and translate it into the terms of America. The United States' Commissioner of Education, Mr. Harris, has given the American view :

> We must educate hundreds of our scholars and politicians in studies of Jurisprudence and International Law ; we must have a corps of trained specialists who know the minute details of each great nation's past history and present achievements, Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, Italy, Spain, Holland, Belgium, and the Scandinavian Countries. England is the best place in which to begin this work. The excellence of the University of Oxford is without doubt the training of the ready gentleman who cannot be pushed off his feet by an attack upon the weaknesses of his personality. His training at Oxford will give him that secure self-possession and self-respect which commands the respect of his fellows. Our American students need have no fear that they will lose their personality at Oxford, for they will find the English ideal of a gentleman exactly fitted for Anglo-Saxons everywhere. The more perfectly they accept its training in this regard, the more ready they will be for the work of extending our American influence in the councils of the world.

Oxford does not hide itself. The unity of the College transcends the disunity of nations even in times of war.[1] A man is taken for what he is. An American certainly has a start in the handicap of the College race. He is interestingly unconventional, and brings new thought to the never-ending discussions that circle round the College. One of them, R. M. Carson (Michigan, 1918), was elected President of the Oxford Union Society for the Summer Term 1922. This is, perhaps, the highest honour that undergraduate Oxford can confer in the world that is not athletic. In the athletic world, the Rhodes scholars indisputably take a high place. Twenty-three of them represented Oxford against Cambridge in 1921–2 ; but Cambridge rejoices, pardonably enough, in the fact that, without Rhodes

[1] On the New College list of the fallen—its Roll of Honour—there appeared in the midst of the European War, the name of a German Rhodes Scholar of the College. It was right ; it was characteristic ; it was of the spirit which endures.

scholars, she won every event but one—a sequence of results which Oxford has no intention of permitting again.[1]

There lie before me as I write criticisms of Oxford life by scholars from several widely-sundered States. They are all alike in their attitude towards the ' monastic ' life of the College ; they find a difficulty in understanding its apparent lack of motive. But everyone of them—even a Cambridge man—records with enthusiasm that the English undergraduate is a good fellow when the mists of his shyness are blown away ; that the game is all that matters, not the victory ; that discussion of real things is normal ; that somehow or other the Englishman knows *what he knows* so much better than others ; that freedom of thought is so real and complete and that everything is open to the Rhodes Scholars and everyone welcomes them. Their own words will witness better.

What at first seemed snobbish indifference now appears to be well-bred shyness and a desire not to intrude upon another's right to do as he sees fit. Life here is a fine art. One is a gentleman until proven otherwise (and perhaps even then). Academically, I approve of the system of not forcing attendance at lectures as I have often been prejudiced against a subject by having to learn some pedantic imbecile's opinion. I should think that Oxford would produce less parrots. The system of Athletics is better, as everybody can find some sport to go in for.

Another scholar was anxious to confine himself to athletics. He says :

The first week or so spent by an American in Oxford is a week of revelations. Most Americans have an idea that the Englishman is a rather cold and indifferent sort of person, but this idea is soon dispelled if one spends some time upon the athletic field with his English cousins. He will find them most willing, and even anxious, to teach him their games, and he, in turn, will be asked questions about the American sports.

[1] On Saturday, March 24, 1923, Oxford, stroked by a U.S.A. Scholar from Concord, Massachusetts, won the most exciting boat-race of recent years, and also the University Sports, in which three U.S.A. Scholars were placed first out of eleven events.

The Cambridge man is brief, but he agrees.

The undergraduate knows more of one subject than his contemporary in America. To some extent he talks 'shop,' which the American never does. Sport is for Sport's sake rather than to win a game.

So these young scholars find their place. It is not all a paradise for them ; nor indeed is any place of youth or learning the world over. It may even be that they desire to say the nicest things ; but even so, the American soldier students in British Universities reported along the same lines to their own Dean.

We came to Cambridge looking for learning and large leisure, and were prepared for an easy display of all the social graces, for nice adjectives and an inflection under perfect control, but we certainly did not expect to find real, if undemonstrative, camaraderie. The Oxford undergraduate proceeds to solve the problems of the Universe without the solemnity or ponderosity which would mark such an attempt by one of his age here. Whether he gets nearer the solution or not is another matter, but the fact remains that he is willing to focus his mind on things that really count outside the classroom as well as in. The Britishers know a lot about Democracy and more about Lincoln than many of us.

Rhodes scholars seem to be ready to echo the cry of an English workman, who reached Oxford at the age of fifty, 'The half was not told me.'

Yet as I think of these things from the outside, I am reminded of a letter just received from the Head of a College, dated January 24, 1923, 'I am afraid you idealise the old Universities. Still, after all, there are no other places like them.'

If I have seemed to compare Oxford and Cambridge with Columbia, California, Wisconsin, and the rest, it is unwitting, for I have no title to do so. The splendid equipment, the hospitable spirit, the genuine keenness, the spirit of the 'Class' or 'Year Group' system, the accessibility, both for men and for women, of the Colleges that I have visited have filled me with amazement that increases as I read of their work as estimated by others

who know them. They too, I suspect, like Oxford and Cambridge, have their troubles, their intrigues, their waste ; but I see them, and Oxford and Cambridge too, as one who looks down on a wood or up at a mountain and knows nothing of its trees or of its precipices, seeing only its place and its beauty ; if indeed I am so fortunate as to have eyes to see.

There are many who feel that it is better to go to a University where another tongue is spoken. After all, a man should go where he hopes and expects to get most good, for, generally speaking, that will be the place where he is of most use. Before the War the bulk of Americans, and many Australians and Canadians, went to Germany. 'Quite rightly,' said Sir Ernest Rutherford, 'because she provided for it. She had a very large number of teachers enthusiastically devoted to their subjects, who welcomed the foreign student.' Moreover, she provided for them a Doctorate in Philosophy and allowed them to take it, often with no residence at all and usually with no more than one year's residence.

Both Oxford and Cambridge have now instituted the degree of Ph.D.,[1] but the demands are heavy. In Oxford, the candidates for this degree will be known as advanced students and will wear a special gown. They must have pursued a course of study extending over at least four years. They must also be fitted to engage in research. The shortest possible period of residence is three academical years less two terms, and in that time their work must constitute an original contribution to knowledge. But it is impossible in such an account as this to give definite information in detail ; so all the methods of entering the Colleges and the degrees to be obtained at the Universities must be here left unmentioned. Yet it may be hoped that the high standard of Oxford and Cambridge Research Degrees will constitute sufficient attraction.

Just as Oxford and Cambridge have sent their sons to New England, so later they sent them, though not in

[1] D.Phil. at Oxford.

such numbers, to Canada and Australia, New Zealand and India. In the Island Continent, Cambridge was again to the fore. Sydney University was founded in 1849 at the instance of William Charles Wentworth (1793–1872), of Peterhouse, and Melbourne by Hugh Childers (1827–1896), of Trinity. The Universities of Canada have been founded generally by Acts of the Provincial Legislatures. McGill University at Montreal was largely made possible by the bequest of the Hon. James McGill. It secured a royal charter in 1829. The University of Toronto dates back to the close of the eighteenth century, when Governor Simcoe advocated the establishment of a University in Upper Ontario. The University of New Zealand was established by an Act of the New Zealand Legislature in 1870. All the colleges of South Africa were established by Acts of the Local Legislatures.

So much for origins ; the future calls for an extension of co-operation not only in the interchange of graduates but in the interchange of teachers, and as much as possible in curricula. These two latter demand much thought and some self-sacrifice, but the one is merely a matter of organisation and the other would be the direct outcome of the recognition of the unity of Universities everywhere. Perhaps the easiest co-operation of all is achieved along the lines of joint work. The great Star Map is being drawn up in the observatories of many Universities. The expedition to the Andes in 1921 brought in Harvard, Toronto, Cambridge, and Edinburgh. No one University can do its work in isolation. There is a democratic world of Universities, dependent upon each contributing its treasures of knowledge, method, mind, and spirit to the whole ; utilising them in the pursuit of a common ideal, illumined as it were by a great light of scholarship. If this happens, then there will no longer be mere talk of international peace, for as a direct result war will find its own appointed place.

' The world is rent and distracted—the Universities can unite it ; the world is wounded—the Universities

can heal it ; the equilibrium of the world has been disturbed—the Universities by their stabilising momentum can restore it. By research in every line of activity, by instruction to men and women, young and old, within and without the walls, by relating the past to the present, by interpreting the life of to-day as guidance for the future, by becoming consciously what they are unconsciously—the intellectual, moral, and spiritual leaders of the masses—the Universities of the English-speaking world may now enter on a career of influence which potentially absolutely transcends the imagination.'

CHAPTER XIV

OF ALL AND SUNDRY

THERE are necessarily great gaps in any account of Oxford and Cambridge such as this. The consideration of various aspects of University life and even the bare mention of great institutions have been omitted. The foundation and work of what are in effect great national libraries, the famous printing presses, the rapidly developing museums have not even been noticed. All the teeming athletic and social life has been passed by, as it were, without a word. It cannot well be otherwise, for the mere list of Oxford and Cambridge activities would 'fill a book.' Some attempt may be made, however, to gather up such facts, thoughts, and recollections as arise, almost at random, and have not conveniently found their place elsewhere.

A few months ago I seized upon an opportunity of discovering what, in the opinion of a well-known Trinity Don, were the most urgent requirements of Cambridge. 'Now, quite quickly, tell me,' I said, 'what is most needed in Cambridge?' He responded without hesitation: 'A new library, better co-ordination of teaching, better payment of teachers, more room and leisure for research, and the development of the artistic and dramatic side of education.' The answer of the Master of an Oxford College to a similar question with regard to that University was no less pertinent and clear: 'An efficient system of pensions, better payment of teachers, and the development of the Bodleian.' It is generally felt that one of the chief drawbacks of Oxford and Cambridge life is the appointment of young men to Fellowships and

tutorships before they have had any opportunity to gain experience of the world. The provision of two years' grace after election to a Fellowship in order that young scholars may travel and gain general experience, as is suggested by the 1919 Commission, may do a little to neutralise this state of affairs and to strengthen both the teaching and administrative capacity of future tutors.

The Trinity Don, after expatiating on the great Victorians who were the later glories of the College, went on to express the fear that the Universities were in danger of failing to produce a certain type—the scholar who was contented to fill his days with learning, never dreaming of publicity or of self-justification, but living on his staircase and making few excursions beyond the College Court, and putting his scholarship at the disposal of all who cared to seek it. Such were the men who, if they did not make or even control Cambridge, gave to it a peculiar power and enabled it to exert a rare influence.

On the Cambridge scene the Masters of Trinity loom large. William Whewell loved the College, which would not have missed his eccentricities on any account.

> Trinity marked him, o'ertopping the crowd of
> Heads and Professors, self-centred, alone ;
> Rude as his strength was, that strength she was proud of ;
> Body and mind, she knew all was her own.

I never enter the Court without thinking of him and of his love for it. I would like to have seen him, as in fancy I often do, stalking through the College. Whewell was a great builder, and lavished his wealth on extending the Courts. 'His last thoughts were for the College. On the morning of his death he signified his wish that the windows of his bedroom might be opened wide that he might see the sun shine on the Great Court, and he smiled as he was reminded that he used to say that the sky never looked so blue as when framed by its walls and turrets.'

William Thompson (1810–1886) had reigned in his

stead for twenty years before I had heard anything of Cambridge except the Boat Race, the best-known event among the boys and girls in elementary schools. It was Thompson who made the famous remark in a College meeting : 'None of us are infallible ; not even the youngest of us.'

When I first began to know Cambridge well, Henry Montagu Butler (1833–1919) was Master, and in the last years of his long life I came to know him almost as well as one not a Cambridge man possibly could, for he cared greatly for the education of working men and women. Before he went to rule Harrow the future Master was a tutor of the Working Men's College, founded at Cambridge—in direct imitation of the well-known London College—in 1855, under the principalship of Harvey Goodwin of Caius (1818–1891), afterwards Bishop of Carlisle. It was a joy to see in his last years the face of the old scholar and Master light up at the thought of miners, potters, weavers, and railwaymen using the College in the Long Vacation; and I imagine that he felt more joy in showing them over the Lodge with its treasures, and in recounting its history to them, than ever he did when visited by kings and princes.

My last talk with the Master was but a few weeks before his death. With almost the pleasure of a little child, he made plans for placing at the disposal of working men and women some books and money which had belonged to his son Gordon, who died during the Great War, and for devoting a sum of money to the fund for a memorial building to be erected by the Workers' Educational Association, which he loved so well.

In his eager care for the poorest children of learning, the Master was far from alone in Trinity before the War. The younger Dons, encouraged by the elder, vied with one another in giving of their best to the members of the Workers' Educational Association. They even entertained them on occasions past the hour of midnight. The noise made would have attracted the attention of a dean in term time, but it was all an expression of sheer

delight and an abiding inspiration to every member of the happy groups.

Prominent among these young Dons was Arthur Charlewood Turner, Junior Dean of the College, who was killed in France in 1918. He was one of those rare souls whose influence is beyond calculation—for it entered into the very roots of our social and religious life. Behind an exterior which was apparently casual, A. C. Turner concealed great spiritual determination. His intellectual qualities were of the highest, as his Essay on Prayer—considered by many to be the most remarkable in a remarkable volume—places beyond doubt.[1]

Never was A. C. Turner so happy, never did he reveal himself so completely, as in the company of working men ; and those of them who knew him placed a memorial to him and to two of his friends—A. E. Bland and Philip Anthony Brown—in the Parish Church of Lambeth, where their friend, George Aitken, of Trinity Hall, was rector.

A. E. Bland, of Lincoln College, Oxford, died on the Somme in 1917. He was never weary of helping the wage-earners of London to understand history. The tutorial class of tea-packers employed by the Co-operative Wholesale Society, which he conducted at Toynbee Hall in East London, was a source of joy to him and of inspiration to his students. A. E. Bland was a lovable man ; he had great personal charm as well as a scholar's patience and a teacher's sympathy. He possessed, too, that imagination which is the soul of educational progress. His last letter home was full of plans for the future advancement of learning among working men and women after the War.

As for Philip Anthony Brown of New College, Oxford, he was the very *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* of the Workers' Educational Movement. Wherever there was difficulty or trouble, he packed up his bag at

[1] *Concerning Prayer : Its Nature, its Difficulties, and its Value.* 'Faith, Prayer, and the World's Order,' by A. C. Turner, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

a mere suggestion, and went to put it right by the sheer beauty of his unselfish spirit. Professor Gilbert Murray said, speaking of him :

> There was a close friend of mine, once my secretary, who gave up that post to become a W.E.A. tutor. He had in the W.E.A. exceedingly hard work ; he had an extremely small salary. But he had in him—though I do not suppose that his views approached at all near to orthodox Christianity—he had in him what you will perhaps allow me to speak of as the spirit of Christ. He had many offers of easier work, more ambitious openings and much higher salaries. But he refused them all because he wished to devote himself to the work that he considered most important, the work of a tutor to classes of working men. When the War came he immediately enlisted as a private. He was afterwards induced to take a commission, and found himself commanding some of those north country miners who used to form his classes in history and political science before the War. He loved his men, and they, as I know from their letters, loved him with a depth of affection that is rare in ordinary human relations. When he was mortally wounded, some of his men almost gave their own lives in a long and brave effort to save him ; and the only words that my friend spoke were, after a long period of apparent unconsciousness, one sentence of thanks and praise to his servant.

The War swept away many others—the College Rolls of Honour are very long—but these three were typical in their desire to promote learning in democratic fellowship.

Sidney Ball,[1] late Senior Tutor of St. John's, Oxford, was an older man than they : a gentle and eager scholar with a profound regard for social justice. He was well known beyond the precincts of the University for his sympathetic support of all progressive movements. The thought of working men in Oxford aroused all that was best in him. He will ever be remembered as the host of the first gathering of the Workers' Educational Association in 1903. They sat round him, trade unionists and co-operators, many of them now also passed away, in the noble Hall of the College of Sir Thomas

[1] He is commemorated by a Sidney Ball Lecture on the foundation of Barnett House, Oxford.

White, and were sent out by him to redeem England by educating themselves. It was said of Sidney Ball that 'he was happy to be in a minority of one.' Yet he never sought so prominent a position. It was simply that he was true to the working of his learned and, in some senses, prophetic mind.

Of all the College Heads, there was no one who did more to promote the work that Sidney Ball helped to initiate than Sir William Anson, late Warden of All Souls. This keen little man, conservative to the finger-tips, was ever ready to welcome working-class students to Oxford. Under his influence All Souls took at the outset a real and unflagging share in the work. He loved to meet the men and to fraternise with them. The dignified Fellows of an earlier day would have rubbed their eyes in disapproving astonishment at the sight of a Warden, near to midnight, keeping time to 'Auld Lang Syne,' with hands clasping those of the burly trade unionists on either side of him. After all, not every Warden, however well disposed, could have managed it with his entire absence of self-consciousness. In such an occasion is one of the secrets of Oxford.

More than can be said, the spell of Oxford, whether for Vacation Course students or for undergraduates, lies in the charm and friendly ease of such personalities : in the influence of a Strachan-Davidson, Master of Balliol from 1907 to 1916, who paused one day as he left the Hall at the end of a meal to look back at the long rows of more than usually unruly undergraduates and was greeted instantly with the cry of 'The Strawner ! the Strawner ! ' ; he just waved his dinner-napkin by way of response and went to the Common Room below ; or in the undying loyalty of a man like Edmond Warre (1837–1919), Provost of Eton, who, visiting Balliol as an old man, fixed his eyes on the Scholars' Bench and said 'Whenever I look at that seat I burn.'

There are no places in the world—not even the pages of *Punch*—so full of stories as Oxford and Cambridge, and the majority of them ought only to be told in their

setting, never written. Yet who could ever forget the Don who fell into a runnel of water by the street side at Cambridge and vociferously declined aid to put him on his feet again because he could swim; or the Proctor at Oxford who was edged by the crowd into a space behind garden railings and then offered a bun on the point of an umbrella by a grinning undergraduate; or the President and Fellows of an Oxford College who, having been precipitated into sudden darkness by the failure of the electricity, were found, every one of them, when the light got started again, under the high table, the only protection from potatoes well aimed? Very crude—well, not so crude, if you know the College.

There have been many 'rags,' both harmless and clever, and always will be. The old men love a good one, and even the Proctors, though they impose fines readily enough, have more than once been impelled to congratulate the offenders. On Armistice Day, 1918, in Oxford, the police made only two captures, a blind man and a one-legged man. Yet Oxford was all agog; more than one policeman's helmet was captured, and the 'faces of stone' round the Sheldonian were red with paint, removable after a few days' scrubbing.

At Cambridge they are more painstaking. They are said to indulge in fewer 'rags' than Oxford, but they think them out with more effect. Foreign potentates (to all appearances) have certainly visited unsuspecting Vice-Chancellors. Not long since the Guildhall was filled with a crowd of people, representing all classes of Town and University life, who came to hear a well-advertised lecture on 'Spiritualism,' by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, and who for some time could not be brought to believe that they had been hoaxed. When the 'audience' became impatient, a notice was flashed on a cinema screen that Sir Arthur was 'present in spirit' but 'unable to materialise.' Oxford, a little later, listened eagerly to a fake lecture by a German philosopher, who was false in all respects except for the abundant joy in his undergraduate soul.

In these days, when Town and Gown are in perfect amity and the Mayor of yesterday is the Vice-Chancellor of to-day, it is surprising to read of Cambridge that

> At the Town Sessions held on 2nd of April, 1818, immediately after Sergeant Blossett, the Deputy Recorder, had charged the Grand Jury, Dr. Webb, the Vice-Chancellor, came into court, attended by Mr. Pemberton, his solicitor, preceded by the Esquire Bedells, and followed by the Proctors, and approaching John Purchas, Esq., the Mayor on the Bench, demanded the seat he then occupied as Chairman of the Sessions. The Mayor stated that he conceived the Mayor had a right to the Chair by long usage ; that it would be an abandonment of his duty if he quitted it, and he should therefore refuse to resign it. The Vice-Chancellor then asked the Mayor if he were to understand that he positively refused him the Chair. The Mayor replied 'Most positively, most unequivocally.' The Vice-Chancellor, after saying that he did not come to have words, retired from the court. At a Common day held on the 7th April the thanks of the Corporation were unanimously voted to the Mayor 'for his firm and independent conduct in supporting the rights of his office as Mayor.'

The powers of the Vice-Chancellor are very great, both at Oxford and at Cambridge. He exercises the authority of the Lord Chamberlain over plays presented within fourteen miles of the city. In addition, he possesses extensive judicial powers, but since the need for their exercise has largely passed away most of them remain inoperative. A Vice-Chancellor would require considerable skill and tact to exercise his authority effectively in these days ; as for the Chancellor, he keeps himself splendidly aloof from all lesser matters. 'We value his counsels on matters of high legislative import,' writes Dr. L. R. Farnell, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. 'But we cleanse our own household, when necessity arises, without troubling him' ; and in his turn the Chancellor of the University writes that he 'has nothing to do with its domestic discipline.'

The interest of the Universities in politics has always been great. The Conservative and Liberal parties have long had their enthusiastic followings, and now a third

party has taken its place in rivalry to them. In 1922 the Oxford Union elected a Labour Party President (Kenneth Lindsay of Worcester College), for the first time. At Cambridge a recent President of the Union remarked that he saw 'the secretary of the 'Varsity Conservative Association, on his way to pawn an old sports coat, pass the secretary of the Labour Club in his Rolls-Royce, complete with chauffeur.' But Universities are places of contradictions. The Oxford College which pays most from corporate revenue towards the support of its kitchens, annually presents its High Table with a needle and thread, admonishing them, 'Take this and be thrifty.'

The mention of 'thrift' invokes the thought of a poor scholar in our time, Frederick Temple (1821–1902), who became Archbishop of Canterbury. His expenses at Balliol in his first year (1839) were £83 17*s.* 8½*d.*, and in the second year £88 11*s.* 3½*d.* It is told of him that, too poor to buy a candle, he studied by the light of the gas jet on the stairs, only interrupting his work to run round the quadrangle to keep himself warm.

> We got to know [writes a contemporary] that his life was abstemious and self-denying to a degree—we got to know that he never, however cold the weather, indulged in a fire, never drank wine, and we got to know the cause—that his father had died, leaving a widow and family with only scanty provision; and that he was endeavouring to live upon his scholarship without entrenching upon his mother's means—nay more, that he was seeking out of his scholarship income (considerable though it was as a help, but very scanty as a sole provision for living) to help his mother with the education of her younger children.

In these days even Temple could not have managed to live on much less than £200 a year. The accounts of three aided students at Keble, Selwyn, and Christ Church respectively lie before me. Two of them come from workers' homes. At Selwyn and Keble the cost works out at quite £200. Of course, such results

depend upon the precise basis of account adopted. Nothing should be included in the expenditure but what is actually incidental to, indeed rendered necessary by, life at the University. The young men of to-day, even from workers' homes, do not seem to be able to aspire to the rigours of a Temple ; but he had character beyond the common lot. Certainly the poor man often likes tea out, and takes it, in a restaurant instead of boiling his own kettle in his room. 'We finish the afternoon with tea at the Cadena or St. George's Café,' writes my Oxford workman—'tea, toast, or crumpets and a small cake, about 10*d*. Sometimes we have a tea party in our own rooms and invite friends.' 'Other times, other manners.' Still, it is not going to be easy to provide for the maximum number of poor students unless there is rigid economy in college kitchen and in undergraduates' rooms.

The Colleges have enjoyed many benefactions. They early encouraged the sense of gratitude which every one of their sons ought to possess, and received from their pupils not merely a piece of plate if the men were of the High Table, but, on occasions, contributions to enrich the endowment or fabric. In searching through the papers of an old house, I found the following letter, with its reply. Since it is two centuries old, the names need not be suppressed.

To ye very much Honrd. Sir Edmund Turnor at his house next St. James' Palace, Westminster, London.

Sir,

Our Steward assures me yt he has recd. no letter from you since Lady-day but I have now ordered him to give you ye account yt you desire. Having this opportunity Sir e.g. knowing you to be reddy for every good work I presume to let you know we are now laying out a considerable sum, at least Five Hundred Pounds upon ye College Hall wch was in so ill a condition yt this expense was necessary, though we have no stock to bear it, but have to finish ye work by ye assistance of good Charitable friends and Benefactors. If you pleas Sir to be one of them in wht proportion you think fit we shall Pray for you e.g. ye memory of your benefaction shal be

gratefully preserved in our registry and in ye inside of C.C.C. Oxon.

Sir, yr obliged and most humble servant.

July 2nd, 1700. THOMAS TURNER.

Sir,

I red your Letter. The work you are now about I look upon to be so good and necessary yt I should very much neglect ye doing my duty if I should not contribute something towards ye effecting thereof. I do therefore pray you to accept of forty Pounds wch shall be paid very freely when and to whom you shall appoint by

Yr affectionate and humble servant,

EDM. TURNOR.

Ex Registro C.C.C. Oxon 1702.
Edmundus Turnor Miles ex Agro
Lincolniensi donavit quadraginta libras.

This was on the occasion when Thomas Turner, an energetic President of Corpus Christi, set on foot a subscription for rebuilding the College Hall.

So the Colleges have been sustained, and must be in the future. If only the 'team spirit' of such a University as Yale could be invoked! For much money is needed, not to keep Colleges clear of State aid, but to enable them to have the best equipment in the world with not a penny of waste.

The Women's Colleges at Oxford, possessing no endowments, are working hard to utilise the enthusiasm of their students. After all, they have comparatively few to appeal to. Yet they may show the men the way to a splendid independence.

Degrees and ceremonies have been hardly noticed, but an account of Oxford Commemoration in 1820 may well be included.

There is the sweeping semicircle of Doctors of Divinity and Law in their robes of scarlet and pink, backed by the rising tiers of particoloured ladies, beaming with bright and jubilant countenances; the whole surmounted by a crown of undergraduates with their lively summer costume contrasting so curiously with the

ugliest of professional badges—the undergraduate gown. The area below is filled with Masters of Arts and their gaping lions. On the occasion to which I refer there were one or two notable circumstances. The first of these was the extraordinary unpopularity of the Senior Proctor of that year—my kind friend and sometime tutor, Mr. (afterwards Doctor) Bull, of Christ Church. By a certain absurd donnishness and unevenness of manner, which laid him open to the charge of adapting himself too much to his company, this really kind-hearted man had contrived to earn for himself the unpopular characters of a tyrant and a tuft-hunter ; and the undergraduate world poured forth upon him, at the annual Saturnalia, the pent-up fury of the preceding two terms. The rosy-faced official bore his trial with unruffled placidity ; but to a youth —inexperienced alike in the misdeeds of the proctor and in the system which allows so great a license to public opinion in the subjects of a great educational institution—this display of excited feeling was, as may well be imagined, a complete enigma. They hissed, they yelled, they roared like a bull, with manifest allusion to the proctor's ill-starred name ; and they did their best to give force to the contrast which they wished to make between the object of their fury and his colleague, whom they invested for the occasion with an exaggerated popularity.

The greatest noise I ever heard in Oxford at a degree ceremony was when Canon Barnett was accorded a D.C.L. in August 1911. About 100 working men had assembled and shouted free of all restraint. And well they might ! For few have done so much as Samuel Barnett of Toynbee Hall to unite Learning and Labour and to bring the spirit of the University on its best side into the busy life of a great city. On another occasion at Cambridge (December 1918) I saw Dr. Merrick Long, Bishop of Bathurst, New South Wales, admitted to the Hon. Degree of LL.D. The galleries were full of ' Diggers,' as the Australian soldiers were called. They made a great noise, but, except for ' Cooees,' these would-be breakers of Senate House peace were too conventional in their methods to satisfy the elderly Dons who yearned for some of the noisy humour of the days gone by.

These impressions ' of all and sundry ' may close

fitly with the charming picture of Henry Coxe (1811–1881), the 'large-hearted librarian' who devoted all his skill and ability for many years to building up Bodley's Library and rendering it more accessible. 'He used to pause at every entry he made before the picture of Thomas Bodley and pray that he might do nothing unworthy of the great Founder.'

CHAPTER XV

THE POWER THAT IS IN THEM

The literature of English education is full of appreciation of the power of Oxford and Cambridge, and innumerable comparisons have been made between the two Universities, but it is not my purpose to dwell upon them or even to quote them. After having traced their histories from the earliest times, I have sought finally to describe what changes might well be made at the present time, from the point of view of one who, like Charles Lamb, had in his younger years no share in 'the sweet food of academic institution.'

The history of the Universities is the history of England in little. Oxford and Cambridge, set as they have been in the very centre of the intellectual and spiritual aspirations of the English people, have tended to express both the virtues and the faults of each age. Yet because they have been consecrated to learning they have seldom failed to give birth to, or at least strengthen, the fine powers of single-minded men who have never been disloyal in their search for truth, no matter where it might lead them, and who have counted all else well lost if only they did not falter on their difficult way. Such men have broken up the dead level of smug complacency which is so often maintained by inferior people bred in a fine tradition, and have not only lifted thought and manners on to a higher plane but shot them through and through with the illumination of noble genius. Many among them, and not the least powerful or self-sacrificing of them, while standing outside the identified area of the Christian faith, have expressed the characteristic

virtues of the religious life, and this at times when Fellows in Holy Orders were unfaithful to their trust and sought not learning but undisturbed ease expressed in prejudice and rewarded by unearned emoluments.

The chief forces concentrated on Oxford and Cambridge have been religious and social ; they have had a more uniform and steady influence than the political, sudden though this may have been in its action. All social force is preconditioned in its nature by the rise and fall of the content of religious force. Yet ' it was neither religion nor social reform,' writes one who was a Fellow of Trinity at the end of the nineteenth century, ' but the seeking after truth which inspired the Cambridge I knew—the Cambridge of Sidgwick, Jackson, Verrall, Maitland, Leslie Stephen and the scientists. And it is arguable that it was the golden era of Cambridge. Perhaps it is not over yet.' This desire for pure and uncontrolled learning swayed not only the Cambridge of Sidgwick but also the Oxford of Thomas Hill Green, Stubbs and Nettleship, and lifted the Universities (or at least their best minds) into harmony with the highest spiritual aspiration.

As has been said, the University is one of the three symbolical institutions of the corporate life of man, and is concerned with the vast unexplored regions open to the adventurers of the mind, but it will be timorous and afraid unless the Cathedral, which focuses spiritual aspiration, is working at the same time in magnificent abandon. Moreover, Universities are in danger of being beset by the obstacles which an uninspired Parliament fails to remove from, or places in the way of, a well-ordered and just social life. Universities have been afraid, and they have been hindered, over and over again, but never have they been so fearful, or so baffled, as to be entirely without witness to their own inherent life.

At no time in the history of either University was scholarship entirely absent, except perhaps in the critical days when the Court occupied the Colleges of Oxford

and the Parliamentarians those of Cambridge ; even then it may be suspected that not a few scholars betook themselves to their beloved corners and pursued their vocation undisturbed by ball or masque or camp-meeting. It may also be remembered that public worship has always had a place within the Universities, and, even when it may seem to have degenerated into mere form, we may be sure that truly spiritual men were holding on and hoping for the better days which they knew would surely come.

As for money or the lack of it, perhaps the only days when it had little influence on the ordinary life of the Universities were the great days of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when scholarship was a thing not much accounted of by the world ; only a few in those days discerned that the way of learning was the way to power. Those were the days of the poor scholar ; birth and riches did not monopolise the Universities until after the Reformation, and even then it may be urged that the humble Servitor or Sizar accompanied his master and gained as his reward a better education than the master he served, and thereby, like the mediaeval scholar, often attained to place and power. It is remarkable, if not astonishing, to find that the rulers of the University in the eighteenth century frequently came to the Colleges as poor scholars, and not infrequently as Sizars or Servitors.

The impression which reflection on the Universities leaves on the mind is that they have been constructed simply as the result of the ordinary everyday needs of English life. There is nothing peculiar about their foundation, or indeed their life ; scholars naturally gathered together, just like men of the trades or professions, in places which were chosen deliberately or fortuitously for the better exercise of their vocation. Like the craftsmen, they have constructed strong centres and dignified them with the creative faculties they possess. The beautiful buildings, and the Universities as a whole, in their material aspects, are not different in

nature from the homes which the mediaeval guilds built for themselves. In a little-known part of Newcastle-upon-Tyne there is a veritable College quadrangle—the old Guild House of the city—and the modern University College not long ago thought of acquiring it, so that to their brick and slate buildings there might be added some of the dignity and tradition of the Middle Ages.

The unique beauty of Oxford and Cambridge may easily be accounted for by the cumulative effect which scholarship and the desire for learning—those great moulders of taste and intellect—gradually produced upon the buildings dedicated to their service. But, more than that, it must be remembered that the history of the two Universities has been not only the history of England in general, but specifically that of institutions created by spiritual forces which they in turn have sought to serve, and, by serving, to strengthen. Thus they have never been mere intellectual seminaries, isolated from the community and seeking vainly to create strength by their own volition, but they have been illumined by spiritual wisdom ('*Dominus illuminatio mea*,' says the old Oxford coat of arms), and have been preserved in consequence from developing schools of thought wholly arid and futile.

There are no religious tests in Oxford or Cambridge now ; a man or woman may, except in the case of a few recent foundations, be of any religion he or she pleases, or of none ; even these newest foundations seek to preserve the strength of the group, within the reconciling freedom of the University and in no exclusive spirit. The colleges in the University are open, within reasonable limits, to the whole world, East and West, without distinction of sect or nationality. Provided that the proportion of students from other lands does not become too great, there can be no possible exception to this policy ; it is in harmony with the ideal nature of a University to welcome added strength from every corner of the earth. But the spirit and attitude of every student

and teacher must surely be that of one who asks his 'way to Zion with his face thitherwards.' That is the supreme condition. As the proportion of such 'seekers of the way' increases so will the power of the Universities develop.

It has been the single-minded pursuit of learning on the part of a constant succession of devoted men that has enabled both Oxford and Cambridge to produce from time to time work of the highest order, whether in the region of scholarship, pure thought, or of experimental science. They have, in effect, been blest who have served knowledge with unsparing devotion; in return, they have not been deserted by their mistress, who is jealous after the manner of her kind. If a man enters a laboratory to probe the secrets of the atom and transmute the metals, or the field to study crops and grow a finer grain, he must be able to rise above all considerations of fame, above immediate material results, and simply search and labour because that is his means of expressing himself, because he has an intense natural desire to discover the secrets which are hidden in nature. So it always is; the true work which a man does is achieved in moments of abandon, when all is forgotten but the essential nature of the task. Because Oxford and Cambridge—it cannot be said too often—always had men of this type, they have been places of power.

Yet, some will say so high an ideal is unattainable, to talk of it is futile; lecture rooms and laboratories which do not directly serve life are, they suggest, useless, mere places of academic verbiage and mechanical amusement; surely, they may add, there was more advance in experimental science during the progress of the recent War than at any other time. Nevertheless, it is clear that though outside stimulus, such as that given by a war, serves to combat the weakness which at times afflicts the best of human efforts, all discoveries made and all things accomplished really result from the devoted and unceasing daily work of those who pursue knowledge, forgetting all else. It is recorded somewhere

that one of the toasts after a Cambridge dinner was 'God bless the Higher Mathematics and may they never be of use to anyone.' That is precisely the spirit which makes a University; it is a strange but true paradox that for philosophers or men of science the search for mere utility is dangerous.

Directly Oxford and Cambridge seek to conform themselves to modern needs, to justify themselves to the Philistines outside—however excellent in other ways such Philistines may be—they may do more work which can be recorded in elaborate tomes, they may send out more young men to perform the tasks of the city and the factory, but they will lose that ineffable charm, that pulsating power, that mysterious influence which calls forth the veneration of men in other Universities and in other lands. It is clear that the purpose of Oxford and Cambridge in regard to its students should be to develop in them mental and spiritual power rather than to give them information. 'Don't let yourself be made into an ammunition waggon,' said an English statesman to a youth proceeding to Eton, 'but forge yourself, or be forged, into a gun to fire the ammunition off.'

Beyond a shadow of doubt, Oxford and Cambridge have refused to pursue the immediate advantage, to conform to the obvious end. Christopher Wordsworth, commenting upon this, said:

> The English Universities, while aiming at educating professional men, never pretended in old time to give the final practical training which is required for every profession. Even in the education of the clergy, to which they gave their special attention, they attempted to educate them in scientific theology rather than to impart even the elements of the pastoral profession. So it was that young men intending to practise medicine or surgery, though they might receive the grounds of a valuable education, and some theoretical instruction, in one of the Universities, were obliged to look elsewhere for practical knowledge to qualify them for their profession.

And a later observer, pursuing a similar line of reflection,

made the following remarks in his speech at the Congress of the Universities of the Empire in 1921 :

> The secular attitude of Oxford proves that, to form a citizen with a broad mind and a generous temperament, it is not absolutely necessary to direct him towards strictly appropriate studies. The fecundity of pure classicism is such that, knowingly utilised, it can produce educated citizens of an imperial democracy, fit for the duties of leadership in public life.

The ability of the Universities to absorb new types, to make them at home, to confer on them their higher privileges and honours, even as they admit them to their secrets, is a source of power to the community which has seldom been rightly estimated. The Rhodes Scholars have passed from the distant outposts of the British Empire, the United States and Germany into these institutions of English learning, and have found themselves at once of the society ; a few weeks' discomfort, then an appreciation of the fact that shyness was the real meaning of the Englishman's reserve and aloofness, and the gradual realisation that the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were democracies in which everyone could take his place—such is the record of their progress. It is a beautiful and striking fact, which will bear repetition over and over again, that when the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge placed in their chapels the names of those who had died during the course of the War, they did not omit the names of those who, once of their body, had been killed in fighting against the English armies. That is the spirit of a College ; it is all-inclusive.

It has been noticed already how English working men and women have come to regard the Colleges with affection. This has been largely due to their experience in Extension Lecture, Tutorial Class, or Vacation School. But, in addition, working men and women have been received into the Colleges and have found themselves at home, just as other undergraduates ; this reveals once more the strength of the University spirit, which enables men of widely different experience to settle

down together. There are still those who refuse to believe that a working man can go into Christ Church at Oxford, or Trinity at Cambridge, for example, and retain his own characteristics and the gifts of his own experience —that he can enter as a working man and, in the course of his study, jettison none of the advantages and the character which his previous experience has conferred upon him, and which, if he would be himself, he must retain throughout his life.

The truth of the matter is that, after due allowance is made for forms of entry and conditions of initial examinations, Oxford and Cambridge are as open to working men as is the House of Commons ; it is only enemies of scholarship and learning who accuse the Universities of being the institutions of a class and who, as a result, strive to discourage adult workers or the children of working people from entering them. The working men and women who have gone to Oxford and Cambridge went in order to learn. They found tutors at hand perhaps even too ready to help them. They also found young men of different experience from theirs, and learned that there were other things than had been dreamed of in their philosophy. They found that they had full opportunity to discuss, to argue, and to exchange experience, and that, as in Dr. Johnson's time, a man in College could ' fold his legs and have his talk out,' and could find men ' to put their minds to his.' Almost everyone, whether teacher or observer, who has spoken about life at Oxford and Cambridge insists in greater or less degree upon the fact that it is not the formal lecture or the tuition that has the greatest effect on students, but the opportunities for intercourse, the discussion clubs, the talks over tea or after dinner, or even at breakfast. Just as in the time of Tennyson so now, they

> Hold debate, a band
> Of youthful friends, on mind and art,
> And labour, and the changing mart,
> And all the framework of the land.

This freedom of discussion, this absence of distinctions, not merely between undergraduate and undergraduate, but between professor and student, is a characteristic which never fails to surprise many who come from other English-speaking Universities.

'It was the humanity of Oxford which impressed me most,' said a student from Canada. 'In my own University I had hardly spoken to a professor during the course of four years; the teachers were a race apart. But I had only been in my rooms a few minutes when a knock came at my door. "My name is so and so," said my visitor. "Well, so and so," I returned, believing him to be my scout, of whose language and habits I had read in tales of University life, "you do me well and I will try to do you well." But, to my astonishment and no small embarrassment I found it was the Head of the College; he had come to take me for a walk. And so the great teacher—for the world knows him to be that—showed himself to be my friend, and friend he was, and is and always will be.' 'In college chapel,' he went on to say, 'I loved to hear and feel that I was one of "the members of this our ancient foundation scattered throughout the world."'

A poor Northern lad, crude and shy but capable, who had borrowed money from a local tradesman to enable him to come up, writes after many years, having since achieved academic success of the highest order:

I shall always love Oxford. She was very kind to me. The dons were helpful from the first and did far more for me than they need have done. The classical tutor, for instance, used to correspond with me regularly before I came into residence (after I had got my scholarship) and helped me in my work. The society of undergraduates, the little informal talks over tea, the clubs, were the making of me. I mixed with men and I learned to live.

After the War, many American soldiers entered both Universities for a brief season. They reported in frank terms to their Dean who, after quoting in *Scribner's Magazine* many wondering and eulogistic comments, turned to the unfavourable, and concluded with his impressions based on them all.

The impartial observer cannot fail to receive from these hundreds of reports an impression of the great English Universities that is highly favourable, though novel to the average American mind. They present a picture, not of a system of education, but of a type of life. Oxford and Cambridge are, in their essence, simply the opportunity for a threefold development, physical, mental, and ethical : the three key-notes of their life are (1) general and continual participation in athletics ; (2) the development of the power to think, rather than the acquisition of knowledge; and (3) a spirit of tolerance and open-mindedness, an appreciation of the finer things of life, and a contempt of anything that is not fair play. As the Master of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, said, in discussing a proposal to exempt colonial candidates for degrees from the residence requirement : ' Cambridge is not primarily a place of learning or a place of examination. It is a place where you live three years.'

A working man, who went from the East End of London to Ruskin College, says, with refreshing frankness,

I went to Oxford with a mind full of reverence and almost awe with respect to the professors at Oxford. I thought of them as great men whose knowledge and ability were quite beyond that of ordinary folk. After a few weeks there was a sense of disappointment, for I thought I had discovered that they were very ordinary people who in very few cases knew how to lecture at all, and whose range of knowledge and general understanding appeared to be limited. Personal contact, and perhaps the discovery that the work involved in patient scholarship and being accurate was far more than appeared on the surface, brought the view back to the original one of a feeling of immense respect. I came to the conclusion that it was far better and far more useful to be an Oxford professor than a millionaire.

In recent years there has been no more remarkable appreciation of University training than that expressed by Mr. J. R. Clynes, sometime Chairman of the Labour Party, and once a general labourer, who was denied almost the form of education even in an elementary school.

University training removes from individual effort the melancholy burden which must be borne by all who wander in search of

education without the guidance, skilled leadership, and direction which a University provides. The University enables the willing to concentrate and reach the highest yield and the most efficient result from a minimum of effort. It provides just that spice of wholesome competition between student and student which was entirely absent in the case of those who were doomed to isolated studies and individual effort in the years before Universities opened their doors to the sons and daughters of the working class. The great power of muscle is essential, and every form of manual exertion must be expended in the pursuit and development of all higher forms of civilisation. But the training of the mind in recent years through the expansion of University opportunities has added enormously to the world wonders which a great increase in the real scholars of the world has given to mankind. A University is not merely a centre for instruction or for that kind of education which helps a man to become a useful storehouse for the supply of knowledge which is designed to assist his fellows.

A University is much more than a science centre or a teacher in any one of the numerous branches of education. A University goes far to make a man a man. It brings a man in touch with the best of his fellows. It improves him not merely in respect to quantity but in respect to quality. It gives him that characteristic which we call taste or tone. It enables him better to know himself as well as better to know others. It does not stop at teaching him something of the history and activities of the world.

It helps him to make the best use of the ordinary natural forces which are close at hand, but which, unfortunately, are so commonly overlooked by those who have not been taught to appreciate them. The majesty and beauty of nature are seldom revealed to the uneducated, and all these finer qualities of life come sooner and more fully to those who are enabled to use the facilities which Universities abundantly provide.

The wide interest taken by University society in the life of the world outside is also a source of power. Lord Bryce, in bearing witness to this, in reference to the time when the future of the United States of America lay in the balance, said :

There were no places in England where the varying fortunes of that tremendous struggle were followed with more intense interest than in Oxford and Cambridge, and none in which so large

a proportion of the educated class sympathised with the cause of the North. Mr. Goldwin Smith led the section which took that view and which included three-fourths of the best talent in Oxford. Among the younger men, Green[1] was the most conspicuous for his ardour on behalf of the principles of human equality and freedom. He followed and watched every move in the military game. No Massachusetts abolitionist welcomed the fall of Vicksburg with keener joy. He used to say that the whole future of humanity was involved in the triumph of the Federal Arms.

It cannot be denied, even if one would, that the certainty of the fact of Colleges being separate societies federated in Universities is responsible for very much of this enlightenment. There is a famous passage in the 'Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated,' in which John Henry Newman discusses the comparative merits of a non-residential but intellectually exacting University and of one which is residential but intellectually disorganised. His mind full of Trinity and Oriel, he had no hesitation whatsoever in stating his preference for a University in which formal teaching was at a discount but which brought together into fellowship

a multitude of young men, keen, open-hearted, sympathetic, and observant, gaining for themselves new ideas and views, fresh matter for thought, and distinct principles for judging and acting day by day. Such a youthful community embodies a specific idea. . . . administers a code of conduct . . . furnishes principles of thought and action. It gives birth to a living teaching . . . which in course of time takes the shape of a self-perpetuating tradition or a genius loci . . . which haunts the home where it has been born and which imbues more or less and one by one every individual who is successively brought under its shadow.

There has been much discussion in late years concerning the place of worship in undergraduate life. In mid-Victorian days every undergraduate was compelled to attend chapel, and in some Colleges the scholars were forced even to take part in the Holy Communion. The surpliced crowds of undergraduates must have made

[1] Thomas Hill Green.

a splendid sight as Tennyson saw it in his own days at Trinity.

> And heard once more in college fanes
> The storm their high-built organs make,
> And thunder-music, rolling, shake
> The prophet blazon'd on the panes.

One who knew the old order at Oxford, thinking of the comparative non-attendance of undergraduates under voluntary conditions—for such is now the case—was disturbed in his mind as he remembered former days at Christ Church, when at the beginning of service not a seat would be vacant, but row after row of surpliced undergraduates were to be seen. He could not see his way to advocate the restoration of the old order, not merely because under the new conditions it would be impossible, but because he, too, had his doubts concerning the value of worship that is forced ; nevertheless he longed for such a corporate expression of religion out of their own hearts on the part of the present members of the Universities. Perhaps, after all, the best hours of any men's University lives are those spent in the chapels, when a great teacher, perhaps a great philosopher —layman he might be—unfolds his message to those who for a brief while are under his charge. Such a preacher was Edward Caird, Master of Balliol after Jowett, who in his lay sermons tried to search out the deeper meaning of his society and to stimulate men to a nobler life.

As members of this little society you have a great tradition to maintain—I do not mean of success in attaining University distinctions, though that no doubt is a good thing—but of participation in the highest aims of the intellectual and moral life of the nation. Among your predecessors there have been many—I can remember not a few myself—who began in this College to show that love of truth and freedom, that interest in the national welfare, that sympathy with the needs and cares of others, which afterwards enabled them to widen the bounds of knowledge, to raise the moral tone of professional life, to maintain the honour and justice of England in

dealing with weaker and less civilised races, or to bring help and healing to the hardships and sufferings of the poor in our own country. And if it is the few who do great and marked service in any of these directions, we have to remember that it is the spirit of the many that makes their efforts possible.

A man who has once lived in a society where the moral and intellectual tone was high, has by that very fact had his courage raised to attempt things of which he otherwise would never have dreamed. And all the members of such a society—especially when it is so small as a College—the least as well as the most notable, must contribute powerfully to help or to hinder the maintenance of that generous community of life, that fellowship of friends, of which Aristotle speaks, that free sympathy of those who have no aims of which they need be ashamed, in which all that is healthy and strong, all that is good and true in the character and minds of individuals, is sure to grow and ripen. It is dangerous to make prophecies about the future of any one ; we cannot know what is hidden in ourselves, still less in others. But there is one promise which it is safe to make to anyone who is willing, in the sense that I have indicated, to bear his own burden and the burden of others during these College years ; that all his life long it will be to him a permanent treasury of happy memories, a source of strength and sweetness amid the toils of his career, and a living bond, amidst all differences, to those with whom he has lived in this place.

May it be yours in the future to look back on your College days as a time of faithful and persistent effort to develop the powers which God has given you ; a time of free and brotherly fellowship, of growing strength of mind and character, darkened by no remembrance of lost opportunity, or of any action unworthy of a gentleman and a Christian.

If, in some way or other, the Colleges can make their chapels once again the centre of their life without imposing compulsory attendance or undue sectarian conditions, then there is little doubt that the power of the Universities will increase in far greater proportion than is dreamed of by the most ardent of University reformers.

Though the feature of the later years has been improved organisation and efficiency, yet 'the Spirit bloweth where it listeth.' It may fail to blow through the conscientiously organised College where every penny is meticulously accounted for, in which there is no waste,

and the Fellows are irreproachably correct in all their ways. That, indeed, is the dread of the reformer who is not devoid of imagination. He is full of a constant fear that he may fill up the valleys at the expense of the mountain-tops. In these days, when Statutes have been revised and Professors must lecture a specified number of times, when Fellows must do a day's work (not even omitting Sundays), when every subject is criticised from the point of view of its use in the world, the average standard of attainment and devotion to duty among University teachers would seem indeed to be far higher than of old ; but, on the other hand, those who have special gifts for research and scholarship and would be contented to pile up their learning, to saturate themselves with it, to strike their roots deep down into the immense depths of their subject, do not find conditions so favourable as they were before the changes introduced by Royal Commissions. It may be that this is not so much the effect of an organised excellence as of a rushing world which has invaded the remotest corners of the most old-world college, now so easy of access and London but an hour away. The fiction that Colleges were remote from the scenes of thought and wit, of politics and religion, in the old days, may be dismissed ; nothing happened in London without an answering event or wave of thought happening in the Universities ; indeed, things in the Universities often happened first. But, after all, there were then no motor cars, no telephones, no trains even. Neither did London publishers worry young graduates for books before they had mastered their subjects. For the matter of that, the evil habit of requiring that a University teacher should have published a book before he could be appointed had not grown to the extent it has done to-day. These are, perhaps, the days of publicity, and publicity is the enemy of good work ; it always tends to produce much leaf, less root, and little fruit. Beyond all this, there is the never-ending sequence of committees ; Oxford and Cambridge are full of them. In term, the

life of a tutor is spent in seeing pupils on his way from one meeting to another. Everything is discussed ; the autocrat still gets his way, but with incalculable trouble not only to himself but to his colleagues. These conditions tend to weaken Oxford and Cambridge, and no remedy has yet been devised. The scholar who possesses no aptitude for administrative or committee work is tempted too often to undertake it, and flounders on with a sense of duty which is sadly mistaken. There are diversities of gifts, and the modern University sometimes fails to translate into action a principle to which it is ever ready to bear witness. The simple truth is that the greater the material excellence and the efficiency of organisation achieved by an intellectual society, the purer and stronger must be the spirit which flows through it. Scholars inevitably are depressed by too much serving of tables. It is not suggested, however, in these reflections that the methods of the old time were preferable ; but that knowledge and research should be so esteemed and honoured, and their condition so cared for, that rather than be controlled by machinery, or hindered by it, they should control every wheel that turns. Benjamin Jowett 'sometimes dreamed, not exactly of a ladder let down from heaven to earth, but rather of a bridge which might unite the different classes of society and at the same time bring about a friendly feeling in the different sects of religion, and that might also connect the different branches of knowledge which were apt to become estranged one from another. This was his ideal of the work and office of the Universities, to which he was constantly returning, and a great part of his life was devoted to making his ideal a reality. Whether it ever will be realised, now that he and others like him are gone, may be doubted.'

But since the time of Jowett the doubt has grown appreciably less ; indeed the hope is sure that Oxford and Cambridge will tend more and more to obliterate class distinctions, to remove sectarian animosities, and to unify knowledge. Jowett would have rejoiced to

see this day, not indeed because of its actual achievements, but because of the promise it holds out for the future.

The full and complete day will only come when all English men and women, according to their several places and powers, make either directly or indirectly their individual contributions to University life, though in the multitude of cases these contributions may consist of no more than the earnest and sincere expectation that Universities and Colleges will be true to the spirit of learning, and that their sons and daughters will seek first to serve not themselves, nor even the community, but the eternal purposes of the Divine Wisdom.

To make an end. The war between the flesh and the spirit of man stands clearly revealed in any examination, however it may be made, of any University history. Societies consecrated to learning—much more to sanctified learning, as the Colleges were—cannot exist in mere respectability, much less in power, unless they are moved by the dynamic force of the spirit.

> Send her forth out of the holy heavens
> And from the throne of the glory let her come.

INDEX

ABELARD, 5
Adams, Thomas (of Hart Hall), 128
Adult Education, 145; Report of Committee on, *cited*, 178–9, 194
Aitken, Rev. George, 260
Albertus Magnus, 19, 20
Albigenses, the, 19
Aldrich, Dr., 232
Alfred the Great, 8 *and n.*[1], 32*n.*
All Souls College, 33, 36, 116, 150, 196, 230, 262
Amalric of Bena, 19
American students in Oxford, 244, 251 *et seq.*
Amherst, Nicholas, 85–8, 111, 113, 116, 151, 230
Anne, Queen, xxi, 90
Anson, Sir William, 180, 262
'Apostles' Club,' the, 144
Aquinas, Thomas, xvii, 19–20, 22, 23 *and n.*[2]
Aristotelian philosophy, 19, 20, 23, 39*n.*
Arnold, Matthew, 127, 143
Arnold, Thomas, xxiii, 138–9, 150
Arrowsmith, John, 65
Arts Degree, 13 *and n*, 151
Arundel, Archbishop, 42
Ascham, Roger, 47, 57
Ashmole, Elias, 231–2
Ashmolean Museum, 232
Augustinian Canons, the, 3, 6, 15, 16, 35, 45
Austin Friars, 18
Averroes, 19
Aydelotte, Frank, 248*n.*[1]

BACHELOR, the, 13
Bacon, Francis, 22, 65–6
Bacon, Roger, 3, 21–2, 23 *and n.*[1], 25, 40, 229, 237
Badew, Richard, 35
Balfour, Earl, 224, 237
Ball, Sidney, 261–2
Balliol College, 33, 105, 155, 162, 169, 180, 209
Bancroft, Richard, Abp. of Canterbury, 66 *and n.*
Barber, the, 116 *and n.*
Barnett, Canon Samuel, 268
Barnwell, Priory of, 16 *and n.*[3]
Barrow, Dr. Isaac, 79, 91
Bartlett, J. Gardner, 244
Batteler, the, 118
Beale, Miss Dorothea, 176
Beale, William, 64–5
Beard, Charles, 192
Beaumont, Francis, 120
Beaumont, Robert, 54
Bedells, 98*n.*[1]
Belknap, Dr., 101*n.*[2]
Benedictines, 15, 16, 26, 82
Bentley, Richard, xxi, 80, 90–3, 95, 97, 118, 152, 232
Bernardoni, Francis, of Assisi, 20–1
Berridge, John, 129
Biffen, Professor, 239
Black Death, the, 35
Black Friars. *See* Dominicans
Blackstone, Sir William, 97, 120
Bland, A. E., 260
Blechynden, Richard, 82
Bodleian Library, the, 22, 60, 67, 68, 220, 257, 269
Bologna, xiv, 5, 32
Botanical Garden, 233
Boyle, Robert, 90, 230, 231, 233
Bradwardine, Thomas, 40, 229
Bragg, Sir William, *quoted*, 237
Brasenose College, 31 *and n.*
Brasenose Hall, 31*n.*
Broad Churchmen, 157
Broadgates Hall, xvii, 120
Brown, Philip Anthony, 260–1
Brown, Sir William, 94
Bryce, Lord, *quoted*, 247, 280
Buchan, John, *quoted*, 170
Buckingham, Duke of, 58, 220–1
Bull, Dr. (Christ Church, Oxford), 268
Bunyan, John, 127
Burgon, Dean, 109–10, 125, 155–6, 162, 165
Burnet, Gilbert, 77, 78–9, 80

Butler, Henry Montagu, 259
Butler, Joseph, 128
Butler, Mrs. Montagu, 176

Caird, Edward, 282
Caius College, 168
Calvin, John, xix
Cambridge Platonists, the, 77–9
Cambridge Theological Schools, 169
Cambridge University Act [1856], 163, 196
Cambridge University: brief historical sketch of, xv *et seq.*, 2; receives exodus of clerks from Oxford, 6, 9 *and n.*; secures legal privileges, xv, 6; as *Studium Generale*, 6; spurious records of origin, 7–8; development of College system in, 35, 44; chief categories at, 40*n.*[1]; in Reformation times, xvii, 38, 54, 57; in the eighteenth century, xxi–xxii, 83, 89, 110 *et seq.*, 123; evangelicalism of, 129; total income [1920], 209; urgent requirements of, 257; golden era of, 271. *See also under* Universities *and Subject headings*
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry, 224
Canada, Universities of, 255
Canning, George, 224
'Caput Senatus,' the, xix*n.*[2], 62
Cardinal College, xviii, 48–9, 50
Carmelites, 18
Carolina, North, University of, 247*n.*
'Caroline' Statutes. *See* Laudian
Carson, R. M., 251
Cathedral: symbolism of the, xiv, 271
Cavendish Laboratory, the, 233, 237, 238
Cemetery: no provision for, in College Statutes, 34–5
Chancellor, the, 5, 14, 264
Chapels, 34, 59, 283
Charles I., 59, 60, 62, 63
Charles II., 71–82 *passim*, 222
Charnock, Prior, 45, 124
Chauncey, Charles, 246
Chemistry Professorship: Cambridge, 232; Oxford, 232–3
Chichele Chest, the, 36*n.*[2]
Chichele, Henry, 33, 36 *and n.*[2]
Childers, Hugh, 255
Chillingworth, William, 61*n.*
Christ Church, xviii, 2, 16*n.*[1], 40, 50, 51, 60, 67, 70, 76, 166, 182
Christ's College, 37
Christian Socialism, 144–5
Church, mediaeval: impetus towards scholarship, 3, 4
Churchill, Lord Randolph, 226
Cistercian Monks, 16
Civil War, the, as affecting the Universities, xx, 58, 60, 61, 67–9, 271–2
Clapham Sect, the, 134–5
Clare, Lady Elizabeth, 35
Clare College, 35
Clarendon, Earl of, xx, 71, 74, 75
Classical Association, the, 174, 236
Classical Scholarships, 200
Classical Studies and the abolition of compulsory Greek, 173–4
Classical Tripos, 158
Claypole, Richard, 20
Clement IV., Pope, 22–3*n.*
Clough, Miss Anne, 175
Clynes, Mr. J. R., 228*n.*[2]; *quoted*, 279–80
Coffee-houses, 116
Colleges, the, xvi, 26, 32 *et seq.*, 57, 84, 108; quadrangle, 34; chapels, 34, 59, 283; cemetery, 34–5; residential system in, 34; tutorial instruction in, 37; life in, 97–8, 114–15; expenditure, 208 *et seq.*; benefactions to, 266
Colet, John, xvii, 45–6, 48*n.*[2], 124
Comber, Dr. Thomas, 69, 91
Commemoration (Oxford, 1820), 267–8
Commencements, xxi, 86*n.*[1], 112
Commoners, 1 *and n.*[1], 108, 117
Commonwealth: the Universities during the, xx, 68–71, 76
Congregation, the, 14; House of (Oxford), 200, 205–6
Constitution Club, the, 87 *and n.*[2], 88, 93
Convocation (Oxford), xix*n.*[1], 205, 206
Cooke, Sir Thomas, 82
Cooper, Anthony Ashley (first Earl of Shaftesbury), 221–2
Co-operative Movement, the, 145, 169
Copleston, Edward, xxii, 152–3
Corpus Christi College (Cambridge), 35–6, 37
Corpus Christi College (Oxford), 46 *and n.*, 267

Cotes, Roger, 232
Cowley, Abraham, 67, 91
Cox, G. V., *Recollections, etc.*, xxii *and n.*[2], 98 *and n.*[1]
Cox, Henry, 269
Cox, Richard, Mayor of Oxford, 30
Cranmer, Abp., 52
Crashaw, Richard, 67
Creighton, Dr., 176
Cromwell, Oliver, 69, 220
Crouch, Dr., 134
Crowland Abbey, 2, 7 *and n.*
Cudworth, Ralph, 77
Cunningham, William, 227
Curzon, Lord, 170, 200, 250, 264

Daniel, Henry, 76
Daniel Press, the, 76 *and n.*[2]
Darbishire, A. D., 236–7
Darwin, Charles, 158, 234, 237
Darwin, Sir Horace, 234
Davies, Miss Emily, 175
Davison, Henry P., Scholarships, 248*n.*
Dealtry, Dr., 134
de Balliol, John, 32–3
de Balsham, Hugh, xvi, 34, 35
de Brome, Adam, 164
de Guzman, Dominic, 18
de Merton, Walter, xvi, 16, 26, 32, 33–4, 50, 164
de Montfort, Simon, 12*n.*
Degree ceremony (Oxford), 268
Devonshire, seventh Duke of, 233
Devorguilla of Galloway, Lady of Balliol, 33
Disciplinae Mathematicae et Physicae, 155
Disputations, the, xxi, 61*n.*[2], 151, 221
Disraeli, Benjamin (first Earl of Beaconsfield), 224, 226
Divinity Degrees, 166, 170
Divinity Professorships, 49
Divinity Readership in Oxford founded by Cromwell, 220
Dixon, Dr., 134
Doctors, the, 2, 13
Dominicans, xxiii, 15, 17 *and n.*, 18–20, 23
Donne, John, 67, 91
Downing, Sir George, xvi
Downing College, 81
Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester, 57
Dugdale, William, 73
Duns Scotus, John, xvii, 21, 23 *and n.*[3]
Dunster, Henry, 245–6
Duppa, Brian, 71
Durham: Cromwell's foundation at, 220
Durham Hall, 16 *and n.*[5]
Durham, William of, 32
Dwight, John, 231
Dykes, Thomas, 136

Eachard, John, 119
Edinburgh Review, 152–4
Education Act [1902], 109, 168, 199
Edward III., 9, 51
'Edwardian' Statutes, the, 52
Eliot, Sir John, 220–1
Elizabeth, Queen, 52–4, 57
Elizabethan Codes, the, xix, 57, 61, 62, 108, 161
Ely Abbey, 2
Emmanuel coffee-house, 116–7
Emmanuel College, xvi, 53, 245
Erasmus, xvii, 45–7, 124
Esquire Bedells, 98*n.*[1]
Eton, 37, 108, 111 *and n.*
Evangelical Revival, the, 123, 127, 129, 133–6, 137, 141, 143, 144
Eveleigh, John, Provost of Oriel, 105, 106, 152
Everett, Edward, 248
Everett, William, Lowell Lectures of, *cited and quoted*, 160, 217 *and n.*
Examination Statutes, xxii, 61*n.*[2], 104, 106, 151–2, 155
Exeter College, 45
Exhibitioner, 1 *and n.*[1]

Faculties, development of, 206
Farmer, Anthony, xxi, 82–3
Farnell, Dr. L. R., Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, 179, 264
Fawcett, Miss Phillipa Garrett, 176
Fell, Dr. John, 74–6
Fell, Dr. Samuel, 70, 76
Fell, Mrs. Samuel, 70
Fellow Commoners, 112, 117–8, 18
Fellowships, xxii, 104, 109, 150, 155, 162–3, 207, 258
Filmer, Robert, 73
Fisher, Bp., 49
Fleming, Bp. Richard, 36
Foundation Scholars, 117
Founder's kin, 33, 108, 150
Fox, Bp., xvi, xvii, 46, 48*n.*[2]
Fox, Charles James, 223–4
Francis, Alban, 82
Franciscans, 15, 18 *and n.*[2], 20–3

French wars: as affecting mediaeval students, xv, 6, 9
Friars, the, xv, 11, 16–25, 40–1
Froude, Hurrell, 128, 129, 138, 141, 142
Fuller, Thomas, *cited and quoted*, 7, 29, 53

Geldart, W. M., 180
Gentlemen Commoners, 83, 112, 117, 121–2
George III., 105
German Universities, 254
Gibbon, Edward, 103, 122
Giffard, Bonaventure, 82
Giraldus Cambrensis, 8
Girton College, 175
Giselbert, 7
Gladstone, W. E., 155, 224–6
Gloucester Hall, xvii, 16 *and n.*[5], 80–2, 103
'God's House,' 37
Goldwin Smith, Professor, 158*n.*[2], 197, 281
'Golgotha,' 88, 159 *and nn.*
Gonville Hall, 35
Goodwin, Harvey, Bp. of Carlisle, 259
Gore, Dr., 170, 199
Grammar Schools, the, xix
Greats, 155, 173
Greek language in the Universities, xvii, 45–7
Greek, compulsory, 200; abolition of, 170, 173–4
'Greeks,' the, 46
Green, J. R., *quoted*, 11, 62
Green, Thomas Hill, 169 *and n.*, 170, 271, 281
Grey Friars, 18
Grey, Lord, 224
Grimshaw, William, 129
Grocyn, William, 39, 45, 47, 48*n.*[2]
Grosseteste, Robert, 21, 22, 107
Gunning, Henry, 97; *Reminiscences, etc.*, xxii *and n.*[1], 97 *and n.*[2], 98 *and n.*[2], 101, 105, 112, 126, 136

Haldane, Lord, 142, 235
Hall, Charles Henry, 159–60
Halley, Edmund, 80, 105
Halls, rise of the, 12, 26 *et seq.*
Hamilton, Sir William, 153–4
Hampden, Dr., 140
Hampden, John, 63, 220
Hare, Julius, 144
Harmsworth, Vyvyan, 249
Harrington, James, 73
Harvard, John, 53 *and n.*, 245
Harvard University, 245, 248, 249
Harvey, James, 129
Harvey, William, 234
Hawkins, Edward, Provost of Oriel, 109–10, 161–2, 165
Headlam, Right Rev. A. C. (Bishop of Gloucester), 203
Hearne, Thomas, 95
Hebdomadal Council, the, xix*n.*[1], 62
Henry II., xv, 8*n.*
Henry III., 9, 10, 12*n.*
Henry VI., xvi, 37, 46*n.*
Henry VIII., xvii, xviii, 15, 39, 48*n.*, 49, 50–1
Henslow, John S., 234
Herbert, George, 67
Hill, Thomas, 69
Hinchliffe, John, 105
Hobbes, Thomas, 72–3, 77
Holles, Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, 102–3
'Holy Club,' the, 129–31, 135
Honours School, 152, 155
Hooker, Richard, 65
Hort, Dr., 168
Hospital of St. John, 16 *and n.*[4], 35
Hough, John, 83
Huber *cited*, 29
Hughes, Tom, 145, 169
Humanists, the, 39, 44 *et seq.*
Humphry, Sir George Murray, 168
Hunter, John, 233–4
Hus, John, 42
Huxley, J. S., *quoted*, 235
Hyndman, H. M., 227

Industrial Revolution, the, xxii
Inge, Dean, 230
Ingulph, Abbot of Crowland, 7 *and n.*
Ipswich, school at, planned by Wolsey, xviii, 49, 50
Irish, the, 31

Jackson, Cyril, xxii, 106, 152, 159, 224, 271
Jackson, Henry, 168
James I., 51, 58
James II., xxi, 82, 83, 89
Jeffrey, Lord, 152*n.*
Jeffreys, Judge, 82, 83
Jeoffred of Orleans, 7

Jerome of Prague, 43
Jesus College, xvi, 57*n.*
John, King, 8
John of Peckham, 20
John of St. Giles, 19–20
Johnson, Samuel, 94, 117, 120, 121–2
Jones, Professor Viriamu, *quoted*, 207
Jowett, Benjamin, xxiii, 169, 176, 285, 286

KEBLE, John, 128, 129–30, 137–8, 144, 155
Kidd, Dr., 232
Kilwardby, Prior, 20
King's College, xvi, 34, 37
King's Hall, xviii, 35, 40, 51
Kingsley, 175
Kipling, Dr., 101–2
Kirkham, Walter, 32

LABOUR Colleges: development of, 192–5
Labour statesmen and the Universities, 201, 227, 228 *and n.*[2]
Lady Margaret, the, xvi, 49
Lady Margaret Hall, 174*n.*, 175, 176, 190
Latimer, Bishop, 52
'Latitude Men,' 77
Laud, William, xx, 59–62, 67, 74, 246
Laudian Statutes, the, xx, 61 *and n.*[2], 62, 108, 151
Law, William, 79, 128
Law and Modern History School, 155
Leeds University, 242
Lever, Thomas, *quoted*, 114*n.*
Liddell, Henry George, 160
Lightfoot, Bp., 168, 175
Linacre, Thomas, 45, 47, 236
Lincoln College, 36, 95
Lindsay, Kenneth, 265
Literae Humaniores, School, 155
Little, A. G., *cited*, 18*n.*[2], 22
Liveing, Professor, 233
Liverpool University, 242
Lloyd, Charles, 150 *and n.*[2]
Locke, John, xx, 71, 75, 79, 80, 231
Lollards, the, 36, 42, 43, 164
Lombard, Peter, 'Sentences' of, 13
Long, Dr. Merrick, 268
Longton: Tutorial Class Movement at, 187
Lowell, James Russell, 249
Lowell Lectures, viii, 160
'Lowngers,' the, 113
Lux Mundi School, the, 169

MACCLESFIELD, Lord, 94–5
McGill, Hon. James, 255
McGill University, 255
Magdalen College, xxi, 45, 48 *and nn.*, 68, 82–3, 209
Magdalene College, 136, 245
Maitland, Frederick William, 227; *cited and quoted*, 7, 248–9
Malden, foundation at, 26, 33
Manchester Grammar School, 46*n.*
Mansel, W. L., 106
Marriott, Charles, 139
Marsh, Adam, 21, 22
Mary, Queen, xix, 52, 54
Massachusetts Bay Colony, 244 *and n.*[2], 245
Massachusetts Company, the, 53*n.*
Massachusetts Historical Society, 101 *and n.*[2]
Masters, the, xiv, xix, 1–2, 5–6, 11–14, 28, 49
Masters, William, 7
Mathematical science (Cambridge), 79, 230
Mathematical Tripos, xxii, xxiii, 104, 106, 152, 158, 168
Mathematics School (Oxford), xv, 41, 155, 230
Maurice, Frederick Denison, 144–5, 175
Maxwell, Clerk, 237–8
Mayow, John, 231
Medical Science: Camb., 168; Oxford, 170
Melbourne University, 255
Merton College, 33–4, 40, 109*n.*, 229
Methodist revival, the, 123, 127, 128–9, 130–3, 135, 141, 143
Michaelhouse, xviii, 40, 51
Mildmay, Sir Walter, 53
Millenary Petition, the, 58 *and n.*
Milner, Isaac, 135–6
Milner, Viscount, 244
Milton, John, 105, 217
Monasteries: discipline of scholars, 12; dissolution of the, xvi, xviii, 15, 107
Monks, the, 17
Monmouth Rebellion, 75 *and n.*
Moore, Bishop, Library of, presented to Cambridge, 93–4
Moral Science Tripos, 158
Morant, Sir Robert, 187
More, Henry, 77

More, Sir Thomas, xvii, 45, 47, 114 *n.*, 124
Morgan, Mr., 131
Morison, Samuel Eliot, 249–50
Morris, William, 227
Murray, Professor Gilbert, *quoted*, 183, 261

'Nations,' the two, 13–14, 30–1
Natural Philosophy School, 93, 232
Natural Science Tripos, 158, 233
Neale, Edward Vansittart, 145, 169
Nettleship, H., 176
Nettleship, Lewis, 170
Neville, Dr. Thomas, 79
New College, xvi, 33, 35, 37, 45, 48, 150, 157, 186, 250*n.*
Newman, John Henry, 96, 123, 126–30 *passim*, 135–44 *passim*, 152; *quoted*, 281
Newnham College, 175
Newton, Sir Isaac, xx, xxi, 79–80, 89, 90, 118, 154, 217, 232, 234
New Zealand: University of, 255
Nicholas, Sir Edward, 77
Noblemen, 112 *and n.*, 117, 118, 182
Non-collegiate system, the, 162
Nonconformists, 125–6
Non-Jurors, the, 85 *and n.*
Northampton 'University,' 31
Norton, Sara, benefaction, 248*n.*
Nugent, Robert, 223

Ockham, William, 21, 23, 39, 44
Okey, Thomas, 192 *and n.*
Oldham, Bp. Hugh, 46*n.*
Oriel College, xxii, 88, 105, 109 *and n.*, 115*n.*[1], 125, 137, 138, 139, 155, 163, 164, 169, 210
Orthodox Church: Gloucester Hall experiment, 67, 81, 82
Oseney, Abbey of, 16 *and n.*[2], 39, 76
Osler, Sir William, 235, 236
Otho, Papal Legate, 12
Owen, John, 71
Oxford, City of, 2–3, 8 and *n.*[2]
Oxford Movement, the. *See* Tractarian Movement
Oxford Philosophy School, 169
Oxford Reformers, the, 45 *et seq.*
Oxford Sausage, the, *quoted*, 113
Oxford Union Society, 251, 265
Oxford University Act [1854], 163, 196
Oxford University: brief historical sketch of, xv *et seq.*, 2, 3; secures legal privileges, xv, 6; as *Studium Generale*, 1, 2, 6; early allusions to, 6; spurious records of origin, 7, 8; first great epoch of College endowment in, 32–5; chief categories at, 40*n.*[1]; overshadowed Cambridge until Reformation times, xv, 38; reputation for heresy, 35, 44; identified with Popery, 62, 76; petitions Parliament on behalf of Episcopacy, 63; in the eighteenth century, xxi, xxii, 83, 89, 110 *et seq.*, 129; the Professoriate of, in 1800, 150–1; at its best, 170; chief characteristics of, xx; total income [1920], 209; urgent requirements of, 234 *et seq.*, 257. *See also under* Universities *and Subject headings*
Oxford University Press, the, 74–5

Padua, 6*n.*[2]
Paget, Sir George, 168
Paley, William, 134
Palmer, William, 139
Palmerston, Lord, 224
Pamphleteers, the, 59, 62, 63, 96
Pareus, Professor, 58
Paris, schools of, xiv, xv, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 32
Parsons, John, 152
Pater, Walter, 170, 176
Pattison, Mark, 153, 156, 157, 170, 176
Pearson, Dr. John, 79, 91
Peasants' Revolt, the, 25, 35–6
Pecock, Reginald, 43–4
Peel, Sir Robert, 155, 224, 225
Pembroke College, xvi, 81, 120
Pembroke Hall, 34, 35, 219 *and n.*[1]
Pennsylvania, University of, 247*n.*
Pensioners, 1 *and n.*[1], 108, 117, 118
Perkin, Professor, 234
Peterhouse, 34, 35, 168
Philosophy and Science, Oxford, 234–6
Philosophy Degree, 254
Physical Science School, 155
Pitt, the Elder, 219, 223, 224
Pitt, the Younger, 219, 223
Pitt, Robert, 223
Platonists, the Cambridge, 77–9
Playfair, Professor, 152*n.*
Poets, the, in the Universities, 217
Pole, Reginald, 48*n.*[2]
Porson, Richard, 97 *and n.*[1], 105, 152

Poverty Statutes, the, 87, 108–10, 150, 187, 207, 211
Powell, E. York, 227
Prague University, 43
Price, Hugh, 57*n.*
Prideaux, Dr. John, 222
Prince Consort, the, 159, 162
Princeton University, 246
Prior, Matthew, 9*n.*
Prize Fellowships, 207
Proctor, the, 14
Proctor's Veto (Oxford), 140, 161
Professorial system, the, 162
Prynne, William, 59, 62, 67, 70, 74
Public worship, 272, 281–3
Pullus, Robert, 6
Puritanism, Puritans, xvi, xix, xx, 57 *et seq. passim*, 124–5
Pusey, Edward Bouverie, xxii, 139
Pym, John, 63, 120, 220

Quadrivium, the, 1*n.*[2], 13
Queen's College, 210
Queens' College, 69, 136

Radnor, Earl of, 148, 154, 157
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 227
Rayleigh, Lord, 237, 238
Reading School, 60*n.*
Recorde, Robert, 230
Rector, 5
Rede, William, 40, 229
Reformation, the, xv, xvii, xix, 15, 16, 39, 52, 54, 124, 125
Regent Masters, 13, 14 *and n.*[2]
Regius Professorships, 150
Regular and secular: distinction between, xvi *n.*, 16
Religious orders and University life, 15
Religious tests, 55, 163, 164–6, 225, 272
Research Degrees, 254
'Restoration Day' (Magdalen), 83 *n.*
Restoration, the, xx, 71–82 *passim*
Rewley Abbey, 16 *and n.*[5], 40
Rhodes, Cecil John, 244 *and n.*[1]
Rhodes Scholars, 244 *and n.*[1], 247, 250 *and n.*, 251–3, 276
Rich, St. Edmund, 3 *and n.*, 107
Richard II., 32*n.*
Richard of Armagh, *cited*, 29
Richard of Devizes, 8
Richard of Wallingford, 40, 229
Ridgeway, Sir William, 203
Ridley, Bishop, 52
Rochdale: Tutorial Class Movement at, 186–7
Romaine, William, 128, 135
Roman Catholic Halls, xxiii; Labour College, 192
Rose, Hugh James, 128
Rosebery, Lord, 224, 226
Routh, Master of Magdalen, 96
Royal Commission [1850], xxiii, 104, 108–9, 110, 158–67, 180, 196–7, 203
Royal Commission [1919], viii, xxiv, 109, 175, 178, 196 *et seq.*, 258
Royal Society, the, 231
Ruskin College, 182*n.*, 192, 227
Ruskin, John, 227
Russell, Lord John, 166*n.*, 224
Rutherford, Sir Ernest, 238, 240, 243, 254
Rygge, Chancellor, 41, 42

St. Edmund Hall, 133–4
St. Francis of Assisi, 20–1
St. Frideswide, Priory School of, 2–3, 16 *and n.*[1], 32, 40
St. Hilda's Hall, 174*n.* 175, 176
St. Hugh's College, 174*n.*, 175, 176
St. John, Henry (1st Viscount Bolingbroke), 222
St. John, Hospital of, 16 *and n.*[4], 35
St. John's College, xvi, xix, 16*n.*[4], 52, 54, 60 *and n.*, 64, 85, 86–7, 149, 168
St. Mary's College, 45
St. Mary the Great (Camb.), 159
St. Richard of Chichester, 12
Salisbury, Lord, 224
Savile, Sir Henry, 230
Savilian Professor of Mathematics, 233
Scholars, the mediaeval, xv, 2, 3–4, 11–14, 27–8
Scholarships, 109, 152, 155, 162, 167, 182*n.*, 199, 211–3; 'close' scholarships, xix, 109, 167, 180; commemorative, 169
Scholastic philosophy, 5, 19 *et seq.*, 39, 44, 45
Schoolmen, the, xvii, 19 *et seq.*, 40, 46
Schools of Paris. *See* Paris.
Science and Philosophy (Oxford), 234–6
Science and scientists, 229 *et seq.*; development of teaching a danger to research, 239–240
Scott Holland, Henry, 170
Seculars, the, xvi *and n.*, 15–16, 26, 51
Sedgwick, Adam, xxiii., 157–8, 234
Selden, John, 66–7

Senate, the (Cambridge), 205
Servitors, xix, 83, 112, 116, 117–22, 131, 151, 167, 272
Shairp, Principal, 139
Shakespeare, 217
Shaw-Lefevre, Miss, 176
Sheffield University, 242
Sheldon, Gilbert, 66*n.*, 74
Sheldonian, the, 66*n.*, 74 *and n.*
Shelley, 217, 233
Sherlock, Thomas, 128
Sidgwick, Henry, xxiii, 165, 168, 169, 175, 271
Sidney Sussex College, xvi, 220
Simcoe, Governor, 255
Simeon, Charles, 96, 123, 126–7, 129, 134–6, 143, 144
Simon of Tournai, 19
Sizars, xix, 83, 112, 116, 117–8 *and n.*, 167, 272
Skeat, Walter, 227
'Smarts,' the, 113, 116, 122
Smith, Mr. A. L., Master of Balliol, *quoted*, 194
Smith, John, 77, 78
Smith, Sydney, 152*n.*
Society for Hellenic Studies, 174
Society of Oxford Home Students, 174*n.*, 175
Soddy, Professor, 234, 240
Somerville College, 174*n.*, 175, 176
South Africa: Colleges of, 255
Southey, Robert, 117
Spencer, Henry, Bp. of Norwich, 35
Spenser, Edmund, 105, 217
Stamford, migration of students to, 31
Stanley, Dean, xxiii, 141, 162
Statesmen in the Universities, 218 *et seq.*, 228 *and n.*
Statutes, College, the, 108–10, 125, 148–50, 155, 157, 158
Stead, W. T., 244*n.*
Stephen, Edward, *quoted*, 81
Sterling, John, 144
Sthael, Peter, 231
Stillingfleet, 90
Stockwell, Mr., 223
Stourbridge Fair, 80 *and n.*[1]
Strachan-Davidson, Master of Balliol, 262
Strode, William, 60
Strong, Dr. T. B., 186
Strype, John, *quoted*, 114*n.*
Stuart, Professor James, 180, 184
Stubbs, Dr. William, 176, 226, 271
Studium Generale, xiv, 1 *and n.*[2], 5
Sydney University, 255
Taverns, 114, 115–6
Tawney, R. H., 187
Taxation of Colleges, 168, 206
Tayler, John, 120
Taylor, Jeremy, 105
Tea, 115 *and n.*[1]
Temple, Frederick, Abp. of Canterbury, 265–6
Tennessee, University of, 247*n.*
Tennyson, 217
Terrae-Filius, the, xxi, 86*n.*[1]; (newssheet), 86–7
Theobald of Étampes, 1, 6
Theological learning: Cambridge, 168–9; Oxford, 169–70
Thompson, Mr. Henry Yates, 248
Thompson, William, 258–9
Thomson, Sir J. J., 218*n.*, 237, 238, 240
Thorney Abbey, 44
Thurlow, Lord Chancellor, 104
Tillyard, Arthur, 116
Tom Tower, 76
Tonstall, Cuthbert, 230
Toronto, University of, 255
Toryism in the Universities, 76, 82 *et seq.*
Towle, Mr., 210
Town and Gown riots, 8–9, 29–30, 35–6, 264
Toynbee, Arnold, 169, 176
Tract XC., 140
Tractarian Movement, the, xxii, 123, 127–9, 135, 136 *et seq.*
Traherne, Thomas, 67
Trapp, Dr. Joseph, 94 *and n.*[1]
Trevelyan, Mr. G. M., viii; *quoted*, 68
Trinity College, Cambridge, xviii, xxii, 35, 40, 51, 54, 69 *and n.*, 91, 157, 168, 210, 258; Statutes of, 92, 112, 148–50, 159*n.*[4]
Trinity College (Oxford), xvi, 16, *and n.*[5], 52
Tripos Jester, the, xxi, 86*n.*[1]
Trivium, the, 1*n.*[2], 13
'Trojans,' the, 46, 47
Trotter, Coutts, 168
Tucking, 222 *and n.*[1]
Tudway, Dr. Thomas, 90
Turner, Professor, 234
Turner, Arthur Charlewood, 260
Turner, Thomas, President, Corpus Christi, 267
Tutorial Classes. *See* University Tutorial Classes
Tutors, 150
Twynne, Brian, 73

Undergraduate, 1
United States: interest of, in the British Universities, 198; Universities in the, 244 *et seq.*, 253–4
Universitas, the designation, 6
Universities Acts, 166*n.*, 196
Universities, the: nature and place of, in the English community, xiii, xiv; history of, as that of England in general, 270, 273; symbolism of, xxiii–xiv, 271; in mediaeval times, xvi *n.*, 9, 12; course of study in, 12–13; unattached students in fifteenth century, 27, 28; in Tudor times, 39; after the Reformation, 39–40; influence of mediaeval Church and State on, 54, 55, 80; results of the Elizabethan codes in, 57; the Church the only career provided for, 151; reform of, xxiii, 146 *et seq.*, 192 *et seq.*; number of students in, at various dates, xx, 8, 40*n.*, 97, 117, 129; administration, 40, 163, 204–6; emoluments, 206–8; stories of, 262–3; 'rags' at, 262; interest of, in politics, 264–5; places of contradictions, 265; expenditure of students at, 265–6; ideals of scholarship in, xiv, 270–1, 274; attitude to money in, 272; effects of religious and social forces on, 271–3; beauty of buildings, 272–3; spiritual *versus* utilitarian ideals in, 274–6; colonial and foreign students in, 241–4, 273, 276; as post-graduate institutions, 242–3; co-operation between English-speaking, 255–6; democratic character of, 276 *et seq.*; freedom of discussion in, 277–80; characteristics of, in the present day, 198, 280, 283–5; extra-mural work of, 177 *et seq.*, 191, 194
University College, 32–3
University Entrance Examination, 170, 200
University Extension Lectures, 177, 180 *and n.*, 183 *et seq.*, 213
University Hall, 35
University Museum (Oxford), 233
University Tests, 55, 163, 164–6, 225
University Tutorial Class Movement, 177–8, 183, 187 *et seq.*, 213
Vacarius, 6
Vacation Schools, 177, 180–1, 213–4
Vaughan, Henry, 67
Venn, Henry, 136
Venn, John, 134
Vice-Chancellor, the, 61*n.*, 62, 264
Vigani, John Francis, 232
Vitelli, 45
Vrooman, Walter, 192

Wadham College, xvi, 182*n.*[1]
Walker, Samuel, 129
Wall, Dr. John, 231
Wallis, Dr., 72, 73
Walpole, Sir Robert, 219
Walsh, Benjamin Dann, *Historical Account*, etc., 148–50, 154, 157
War, the, and the Universities, 274; College Rolls of Honour, 251 *n.*, 261, 276
Ward, Seth, 73
Ward, William George, 141
Warham, Chancellor, 47
Warre, Edmond, 262
Warren, Sir Herbert, 177
Warton, Tom, 94 *and n.*[1]
Waterland, Daniel, 89, 95–6
Watson, Richard, 99 *and n.*[2], 100, 118, 150, 232
Waynflete, William, 48 *and n.*[2]
Wellington, Duke of, 159, 162
Wentworth, William Charles, 255
Wesley, Charles, 89, 96, 128, 129, 130
Wesley, John, 36, 89, 95, 96, 117, 123, 126–35 *passim*, 143, 144
Wesley, Samuel, 89, 96, 119–20
Wesleyan Methodist Church, 132
Westcott, Bp., 78, 168, 170
West Riding County Council, 182 *n.*
Whewell, William, xxiii, 106, 152, 153, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 167, 234, 258
Whichcote, Benjamin, 77, 78, 79
Whiggism in the Universities, 76, 80, 82 *et seq.*
White, Sir Thomas, 60*n.*, 86–7, 261–2
White Friars, 18
Whitefield, George, 96, 120, 128, 131–2, 133, 143, 144
Whitgift, John, 57, 161
Whyte Chair of Moral Philosophy, 169*n.*
Widdowes, Giles, 59
Wilberforce, William, 134

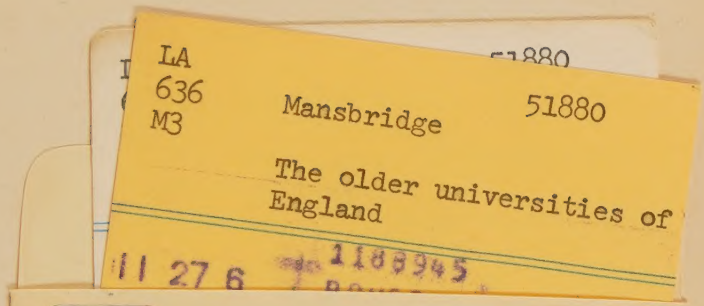
Wilkins, Dr. Joseph, 230
William III. and Mary, xxi, 83*n.*, 89
'William and Mary,' College of, 246
Williams, Isaac, 139
Wilson, Woodrow, 246
Winchester School, 37, 49
Winstanley, D. A., *quoted*, 102–3, 161*n.*
Wolsey, Cardinal, xvi, xvii, xviii, 47, 48–50, 107
Women's Colleges, 174 *and n.*, 175, 176 ; numbers of undergraduates in, at Oxford, 174 *and n.*
Women's Education Movement, xxiii, 170 *et seq.*
Wood, Anthony, 71, 73–4, 76, 81, 116, 231
Wood, Dr. Samuel, 220
Woodroff, Dr., 81, 82
Worcester College, xvi, 16*n.*[5], 82, 103
Wordsworth, Christopher, 106, 275
Wordsworth, Miss Elizabeth, 176 *and n.*[1]
Wordsworth, William, 80, 217
Workers' Educational Association, the, 185, 186, 259–61
Working Men's College, Cambridge, 259
Working Men's College, St. Pancras, 145
Working men and women : University education of, 177 *et seq.*, 259, 261 ; attitude of, towards the Universities, 183 *et seq.*, 199, 200–1, 276 *et seq.*
Wren, Christopher, 74, 76, 230–1
Wyclif, John, xvii, 16, 35, 39, 40 *et seq.*, 54
Wykeham, William of, xvi, 33, 36 *and n.*[1], 37, 45, 46*n.*, 48, 107

Yale, Elihu, 246
Yale University, 246, 267
Young, Robert F., *cited*, 43

Printed in England at The Ballantyne Press
Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co. Ltd.
Colchester, London & Eton

AUGSBURG COLLEGE & SEMINARY
George Sverdrup Library
MINNEAPOLIS 4, MINNESOTA

5188


LA
636
M3
Mansbridge
51880
The older universities of England
1188945
51880

LA
636
M3